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EDWARD I. SEARS, LL. D.

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> "THE highest of our so-called laws of Nature are as yet purely physical. * * * Not one single physical discovery that has ever been made has been connected with the laws of the mind that made it; and until that connection is ascertained, our knowledge has no sure basis." —*Buckle.*

THAT incomparable thinker, the late Auguste Comte, in his great work on the positive method in philosophy, divides the mental development of mankind into three great theoretical eras or stages, viz.: "The Theological, or fictitious; the Metaphysical, or abstract; the Scientific, or positive."* Without stopping to inquire into the justness of this classification, it must be admitted by the attentive observer of passing events, that the first or theological stage has long since passed; the second, or metaphysical, is gradually losing its hold on the mind of mankind; and that the third, or scientific stage, is in course of active development. The tendency of modern thought points unmistakably to this conclusion. It is, indeed, a matter bordering on the marvellous to the uninitiated in scientific subjects to note the progress of scientific discovery within the last half century. In fact, it is not necessary to go back so far for evidence of the marvellous in this direction, the present generation being one of the most remarkable eras in the progress of science that the world has seen. Sciences are indeed multiplying, under the strong impetus of mental development, like the creeds of Christendom, the counterweights of theological opposition, or the earnest protest and admonition of those in whose special keeping the moral progress of man has hitherto been exclusively committed. Scarcely a year passes into history that does not witness the advent of some new science; while almost every day chronicles some new discovery, and makes important additions to the long catalogue of those that have gone before. Everything is being reduced to definite terms and precise formulas. While but a few years since science was confined to studies of so-called material subjects and methods, dealing at most with the laws of physics and mathematics, now the laws of the mental and psychical' are being reduced by it to definite apprehension; and phenomena which were hitherto regarded obscure and irregular submit now to prophecy and classification. Within the memory of our youngest reader, history has been added to the list of sciences; and in the same category must also be added moral science, the sciences of art and letters, business, politics, society, etc.; and instead of having, as many seem disposed to believe, a religion of science, we now have a science of religion. It is difficult to foresee the magnitude of this tendency. While formerly but a few despised, self-sacrificing souls were occupied in the vineyard of science, now that study is confined to no particular class of minds. Having become popular, the ranks of scientific discovery are made up of no exclusive sect or caste, political or religious, but embrace those of every shade of religious belief and of intellectual bias—the heretic and the religious devotee uniting to give impetus to a tendency which seems as imperative as fate, and as inevitable as the annual unfolding of the foliage and flowers, or the daily ebb and flow of the tides. If this tendency means anything, it is that man has caught the spirit of the century, and is being quickened by it to nobler aims and ends. Philosophy has become a part of his daily regimen; and if the flesh of lions made a Hercules, why should not a diet of philosophy produce philosophers?

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* *Positive Philosophy*, p. 25.

However gratifying all this may be to the student of rational philosophy, one is led to inquire if there be no danger in an excess of this tendency? Having passed the Scylla of theology, is there no danger to be apprehended from the Charybdis of science? The sea of physical discovery is undoubtedly an open one, of vast dimensions and of illimitable extent; and although there be no rocks nor shoals to encounter, nor storms, nor monsoons, to apprehend and guard against, there is danger of being lost in its boundless spaces, and of missing the chief object of one's search—Eternal Truth. He who has watched, with becoming diligence, the progress of physical inquiry, cannot have failed to remark the confidence with which the scientist asserts his belief in the absolute character of scientific induction. He becomes a part of his method; and if he does not dogmatize, it is because he deals with subjects about which it were impossible to dogmatize. He, nevertheless, does something but slightly removed from the dogmatic, that of declining to entertain propositions not clearly demonstrable, or justified by facts. In avoiding credulity he runs into scepticism. Having a plethora of facts, he has no place for fancies. The intuitional faculty in him is ignored; its powers diverted to the uses of observation and analysis. Seeing is of far more importance, in his estimation, than perceiving; and the external sight is continually augmented at the expense of the internal. This peculiar mental bias, we repeat, is characteristic of the inductive observer, and has advantages and disadvantages peculiar to itself.

It is too much to expect that any exclusive method of observation should not have its defects and shortcomings. It could not be otherwise from the very nature of observation, and the profound obscurity in which most of nature's processes are involved. And while we are free to admit that the inductive method of observation is more reliable, has fewer defects, when exclusively adhered to, than the deductive, yet those of the former are often so pronounced and egregious that we cannot forbear to give them a passing notice.

Not many years ago the writer was called by a young colleague, in consultation in what was, to him, an obvious case of incipient typhoid fever. The attending physician was strongly imbued with the inductive method of observation. It was the third day of the disease; and while to the writer the case presented symptons and signs of a character to justify, in their totality, a typhoid diagnosis, the attending physician was not so easily satisfied. He needed two other symptoms, the congested eye and the requisite degree of temperature, to enable him to come to the same conclusion. And he positively refused to act on the case and initiate the treatment proper in typhoid disease, until all the elements requisite to make the case a demonstrative one of that type had developed. For this he had to wait, in the natural course of the disease, forty-eight hours longer. And when they had finally come—when the elements essential to make up a demonstrative case were all in—the patient, unhappily, was too near a final dissolution —for the case had run a violent and rapid course—to profit by a strictly scientific diagnosis. Our young friend had not yet learned to doubt the infallibility of the inductive method, nor to question that his true line of duty lay in a faithful adherence to its terms. The physician's experience is full of instances illustrating the shortcomings of the inductive method as applied to the practice of medicine. It is impossible not to find in those instances a key to unravel a mystery which has long vexed and mortified medical savants, viz: Why a quick-witted, intuitive quack, so often cures diseases that had baffled the skill of the more learned and logical physician.

Moreover, medical literature abounds in facts which are clearly traceable to the same fount. In one of the most erudite works on practical Hygiene of which we have any knowledge, the author abruptly dismisses the consideration of the subject of light, for the alleged reason that its precise influence in health and disease was not demonstrable! * Miss Florence Nightingale, however, discourses beautifully on the Hygiene of light, and with a force which carries conviction to the mind of a common-sense reader, without the aid of science, and without stopping to inquire after the elements of inductive demonstration. †

We did not intend, however, to occupy our space with criticisms of this character, but rather to present a few observations on the nature and scope of that method of observing and interpreting phenomena, which is distinctively scientific, and to point out what seems to us its logical tendency.

There is, undeniably, much to praise and but little to censure in the *spirit* of scientific research. Professor Tyndall, in his second lecture on light, observes that science would never rest satisfied until it had probed the root of a subject. Nothing surely can be more praise-worthy than the exercise of such a spirit. It is the spirit that must animate and quicken every earnest truth-seeker in any department of human knowledge. And, although the precise object of his search be never gained, he will not fail of the priceless reward which comes to him who is actuated by a purpose thus noble and exalted.‡ But is not the attempt to probe the root of any subject a vain and idle one? Is it not repeating the folly of the fabled tower builders over again? Surely he who follows the inductive method in philosophy, unaided by any other, can never hope to attain success in that direction, whether the subject be the more familiar one of physics, or the more obscure and higher one of mind. He may, it is true, be able to trace a long series of connected sequences and co-existences, but each one of them will in turn be secondary to that for which he seeks; and the very root of all, the invisible, but eternally operating Presence, will forever elude his sight. Can one by searching find out God? Can the finite rise to the Infinite?

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* *Practical Hygiene.* E. A. Parkes, M.D., F.R.S. Philadelphia.

† Vide her incomparable Notes on Nursing. New York.

‡ It was Lessing who said, "If the Almighty, holding in one hand truth and in the other search after truth, presented them to me and asked me which I would choose, with all humility, but without hesitation, I should say, give me search after truth."

If any there be who feel disposed to doubt the logic of the foregoing, a moment's reflection upon the aim and scope of inductive science will suffice to satisfy them that it is not ill-founded. That method does not aspire to the realm of final causes. Its legitimate primacy is with the objective and phenomenal exclusively. "The inductive philosopher," says Mr. Buckle, "collects phenomena, either by observation or by experiment, and from them rises to the general principle, or law which covers them."* He cannot go behind phenomena; he does not contemplate the discovery of the ultimate and transcendental. The purpose of his inquiry is satisfied with sequences and the law, or order in which they invariably come. The bare idea of a ghost provokes contempt; and of the supernatural and the miraculous he has as much horror as nature is said to have of a vacuum. In general he disbelieves in spirit, as distinct from forces peculiar to matter, and regards the existence of a soul as an hypothesis wholly untenable. The late Herr Strauss, though a theologian, was a typical representative of this class of scientists. He saw no logical necessity for a soul in a human body; and he was bold enough to assert that "many of the difficulties environing the problem of thought and feeling in man entirely proceeds from this assumption of a psychical essence distinct from the corporal organs. How from an extended, non-thinking thing, such as the human body, impressions can be conveyed to a non extended, thinking thing, such as the soul is alleged to be; how impulses are re-transmitted from the second to the first; in short, how any communion is possible between them—this no philosophy has yet explained, and none ever will. The matter must," continues he, " in any case, be much more intelligible, if we have only to do with one and the same being, of which in one respect extension is predicable, in another, thought. Of course we shall be told such a being is not possible. We reply, It exists: we ourselves are all such beings."* Holding thus ever to the sensible and objective; clinging always to the clearly demonstrable on this side of nature, the sphere of the inductive philosophy ranges all the way from the minute molecule of the material world up to the highest evolution in nature—the human mind.

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* *An Essay on the Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge.*

We would not be understood as committing the great body of scientists to the cold logic of a class of inductive thinkers, of which we have mentioned the eminent Strauss as a type. There is a large class, steadily augmenting in numbers, who profess loyalty to the scientific method, but who endeavor to reconcile the teachings of science with certain transcendental doctrines. Professor Le Comte may, perhaps, be taken as a representative of this class. In his interesting book, entitled "Science and Religion," the scope and bearings of science are stated with much force and clearness, if not with philosophical precision. He says:

> "Science knows nothing of phenomena which do not take place by secondary causes and processes." Are there any phenomena, we are tempted to ask, that do not take place by secondary causes? "She does not deny such occurrences," continues the Professor, "for true science is not dogmatic; and she knows full well that tracing up phenomena from cause to cause we must reach somewhere the more direct agency of a First Cause. But any phenomena referred to direct agency of the First Cause is immediately put beyond the domain of science. The domain of science...is all that lies between the phenomena, the objects of *Sense*, and the First Cause, the object of *Faith*. Science passes from sensible phenomena to immediate causes; from these to other higher causes; and thus by a continuous chain she rises higher and still higher, until she approaches the Great First Cause, until she stands before the very throne of God himself."—Pp. 22-23.

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* *The Old Faith and the New*, Eng. Tr., vol. ii., p. 17.

If our author be right in the main, which we are not disposed to question, he lays himself open to the charge of falling into an error very common to the scientific mind—that of placing the Creator, when he is allowed any place at all, at the end of an endless chain of causation! Surely the worshippers of the First Cause, if he really be thus remote, have a God as distant from them as have those who deify and worship the sun and stars; and an eminent astronomer has calculated that a prayer ascending Deity-ward at the rapid speed of a bullet from an Armstrong gun, which is considerably faster than the velocity of sound, would take thirteen years to reach the nearest of those deities—the sun! This may be said to be passing from the sublime to the ridiculous; but if it serve to awaken the mind to the impolicy of divorcing Divinity from phenomena, of separating the finite from the Infinite, it will not be wholly inexcusable nor profitless. Let us assume at once a conclusion forever unattainable by inductive science, but which is fully warranted by the deductive method, viz.: that Divinity is in the atom no less than in the planet; in the flowers and fruits as well as in animals and man; that in truth "He lives through all life and extends through all extent;" is represented in the last sequence as well as in the first and intermediate; in the End no less than in the Beginning. That endless chain of causation, which one hears so much about, beginning with the Creator and ending with the creation, though by no means a mythical idea, is yet liable to mislead. It has a basis of fact which observation is competent to verify, but at the same time it is phenomenal, not absolute. It can at most only suggest the existence of a determinate principle in the universe, pervading all, and moulding shapeless form into definite being. It gives us the order by which evolution is effected, but does not lift the veil which conceals the nature of the things evoluted; nor could it do so even though it were several times longer than its present marvellous length. The means of bridging the chasm which separates the cause from the effect, the Creator from the creation, are, perhaps, beyond mortal reach. Surely the endless chain of causation is inadequate for the purpose; and inductive philosophy is powerless to furnish any other or different means. If, therefore, that feat of mind be ever effected, it is obvious that we shall be compelled to call to our aid a very different method of observation—a method which begins at the other end of the Cosmos, so to speak; that assumes at the outset the existence of mind as the fundamental agency in evolution. And since assumption is the basis of all philosophy, we respectfully submit that that method which assumes mind as its fundamental postulate is certainly not less rational than that which assumes matter for it, since it is obvious that we know as little of the latter as we do of the former. The former assumption is characteristic of the deductive method; the latter is characteristic of the inductive.

The deductive method of observation is thus seen to be quite the reverse of that of the inductive, which has achieved such remarkable triumphs in the domain of the physical sciences. It has lost caste in the popular mind in proportion as its twin sister and rival has gained in popular favor. It begins with the Creator and descends to the creation. Having assumed the existence of mind, it is able to prove the existence of its correlative—matter. "The deductive philosopher," says Buckle, "draws the principle from ideas already existing in his mind, and explains the phenomena by descending on them, instead of rising from them."* He reasons from within outward, or from above downward. By his method he is able to comprehend the sensuous, while that of his powerful rival, the inductive, is unequal to grasp the internal—spiritual. Why there should not be perfect reciprocity of powers and possibilities between the two methods of research we shall not now stop to inquire. We only know that it does not exist. Lazarus could go to Dives, but Dives, unhappily, could not go to Lazarus. One may very easily descend, while he is totally incapable to ascend.

The necessity of carrying our reasonings behind the purely objective, if we would reach the secret fount of things, must be apparent to every reflecting mind. No philosophy of nature, of life, and of mind, is complete that does not contain within itself the means of revealing the spirit, as well as the substance of things. The two methods should aid and supplement each other. Referring to the (to us) irrational, not to say unnatural, antagonism between materialism and idealism, Strauss observes that they endeavor "to construct the universe and life from the same block. In this endeavor one theory starts from above, the other from below; the latter constructs the universe from atoms and atomic forces, the former from ideas and idealistic forces. But if they would fulfil their tasks," continues our author, "the one must lead from its heights down to the very lowest circles of nature, and to this end place itself under the control of careful observation; while the other must take into account the higher intellectual and ethical problems."* This is well said. The inquisitive mind is not satisfied with terms that, at best, express only sequences, as correlation, evolution, conservation, etc.; *but it must know what it is that is correlated, evoluted, etc.* However interesting it is to know the means, the law, the order, of progressive changes in nature, it is still more interesting *to know what it is that undergoes these processes, these changes.* The transcendentalist believes that it is spirit, an entity, moving and moulding in accordance with it one external law. And what is spirit? The late M. Papillon, in his "Constitution of Matter," has well said that "spirit is not substance, but it is the law of substance; it is not force, but it is the revealer of force; it is not life, but it makes life exist; it is not thought, but it is the consciousness of thought. * * * In a word, it is not reality, but yet in it and by it realities are defined and differentiated, and consequently exist." This is only saying that spirit is the real source and collocation of things, matter being its residence, and living forms its differentiation in nature. This definition of that which is necessarily transcendental, is as comprehensive as the nature and present apprehension of the subject admits of. Of its existence every conscious mind is assured, and it can well afford to wait its own unfolding for a fuller and a more precise conception of it.

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* *Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge.*

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* *The Old Faith and the New*, vol. ii., pp. 19, 20.

If, therefore, the sphere of inductive science be limited to the confines of the purely objective world, it is impossible to be insensible to its atheistical tendency, particularly if its inductions are to be taken in their literal signification. Dealing exclusively with the objective—with phenomena, and the relations between them—it is impossible for the consistent devotee of that method to rise to the conception of anything above atoms and forces, acids and alkalies, oxides and salts, organs and functions, and their correlative combinations and relations. Whatever lies beyond these, says he, "are proper objects of faith." It is a confession deeply humiliating to the vanity of a pure scientist, and indicates a degree of candor characteristic of his class. Nothing can be truer. Faith *is* a refuge for thousands, who cultivate science in the full assurance that it is the Alpha and the Omega of all knowledge of natural things, but who find in the so-called supernatural an escape from the consequences of a logic which sinks their hopes in the endless rounds of material processes and forces. This fact, to our mind, is one of the strongest proofs of the defects and shortcomings of science, and of the popular method of interpreting the facts and phenomena of nature.

Is there no remedy for this unhappy state of things? We believe there is; but of the union of the two methods of observation, to which we have referred, there shall ultimately arise a philosophy of nature broad enough to embrace the all of human life and of human destiny. The developments of the present justify this prophesy of the future.

Let us briefly examine, at the risk of repetition, a few of the more striking demonstrations of science, with the view of ascertaining how far our conclusion, relative to its defects and logical tendency, is justified by facts.

And first, as to the nature and phenomena of light. The definite conclusion of this subject presents many features which illustrate in a forcible manner the incomplete and unsatisfactory character of inductive research, and the necessity of reading between the lines, so to speak, if one would not be misled by it. The unsophisticated in matters scientific believes light to be a luminous element emitted by the sun, and by means of which he is enabled to see material objects. To such an one the sun appears to shine, to illuminate all nature, to give light and life, where before were darkness and death. Hence, "sunshine" is the common appellation of the unlettered to designate the phenomenon of illumination. Ascending to the corruptions of the more fully developed mind, unbiassed by hypotheses and mathematical, or metaphysical abstractions, the phenomenon of light, though considerably augmented, does not essentially differ from this. Thus says the eminent astronomer and physicist, the late Sir David Brewster: "Light is an emanation, a something which proceeds from bodies, and by means of which we are enabled to see them."* And elsewhere, in giving expression to a higher conception of the motive and influence of that mysterious element, he observes: "Light is the very life-blood of nature, without which every material thing would fade and perish; the fountain of all our knowledge of the external universe; and the historiographer of the visible creation. * * *" The vast majority of eminent physicists, from Empedocles, of the Greeks, to Newton, of the English, entertained a similar opinion. Newton, indeed, bravely died believing that the sun did really shine, emitted luminous particles into space, which, although imponderable, were by no means devoid of a tangible reality.

Passing over the absurdity of Newton's emission hypothesis as irrelevant to our purpose, we have to notice the hypothesis of light, which, although advanced by that eminent mathematician, Professor Huyghens, in Newton's time, was not received with much favor until within the last century.

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* *Treatise on Optics.*

It was left to that unequalled and indefatigable mathematician, Dr. Thomas Young, to upset all previous doctrines concerning the scientific nature of light, and to establish, on data which is said to be indisputable, the wave, or undulating hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, which Professor Tyndall declares is no longer a hypothesis, but a fixed fact—a demonstration—light consists of the vibrations of an exceedingly thin, elastic ether—an hypothetical ether—which fills all space, and even the interstices between the molecules of all material bodies. These infinitesimal light-waves are analogous to the air-waves, by which sound is produced, or more palpably still, to those of water when a stone or other body is thrown into it. These light-waves were accurately measured and counted by Professor Young, who found them so diminutive that tens of thousands occupied only an inch of space, and hundreds of millions of millions of them only a second of time! Moreover, each element of the solar ray, it is alleged, has vibrations of a length and frequency peculiar to it, and which constitutes the tint by which it is known and distinguished. It is unnecessary to transcribe in this place the number and length of the light undulations peculiar to each tint which occurs in a given space and time, as tables of them may be found in most works on physics.

Thus, we see that all the beautiful and sublime phenomena of light are reduced by scientific demonstration to the mere vibrations of an imponderable ether—an hypothetical one at that. Light a kind of force—sun force! That is the conclusion reached by the last scientific analysis of the problem. And nothing in the wide domain of physics is more remarkable than the unanimity with which this scientific solution of the subject is viewed by scientists. Many who accept the undulating doctrine as a scientific fact strongly deny it as a physical truth. Professor Brewster, whom we have already quoted, says that " the theory of undulations has made great progress in modern times, and as a mathematical one, deriving principal support from an extensive class of phenomena, it has been viewed by many of our most distinguished philosophers, and adopted even by *those who do not admit it as a physical truth.*[*] There is such a fascination in the demonstrable that the scientist apparently forgets the objective character of his observations and continually mistakes sequences for causes. He registers an effect and forthwith proclaims the discovery of an entity. Exceptions to this statement, however, must be noted. Professor Cook, whose fine work on chemistry is just issued, declines to place himself in full accord with the doctrine so highly eulogized and warmly accepted by Professor Tyndall, and other eminent savants. He "cannot agree with those who regard the wave theory of light as an established principle of science." "That it is a theory," he says, "of the very highest value, I freely admit, and that it has been able to predict the phases of unknown phenomena, which experiment has subsequently brought to light, is a well-known fact."[†] And he goes on to detail reasons in connection with the ether-hypothesis, to show the improbable—not to say untenable—character of its existence. Nevertheless a fact is a fact, and a demonstration something too palpable to be assailed by argument. So he finally concludes that whether "there are such things as waves of ether or not, there is something concerned in the phenomena of light which has definite dimensions, [and] that have been measured with as much accuracy as the dimensions of astronomy, although they are at the opposite extreme of the scale of magnitude."[‡] Of the truth of that, there is, of course, not the shadow of a doubt.

Among the few who decline to recognize the unqualified validity of the undulating hypothesis of light, there are none who have assailed it with such effect as the late M. Comte. With that masterly insight into the causes of phenomena, which characterized that great thinker, M. Comte attacked the hypothesis from its most vulnerable—rather let us say—

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[*] *Treatise on Optics*, p. 164. The italics are ours.

[†] *The New Chemistry*, p. 22.

[‡] Ibid, pp. 23, 24.

its only assailable point, viz., the subjective, or physiological. "If the doctrine of undulation means anything," observes he, "it must mean that the phenomena of light and sound are alike in their vibratory agitation. * * * Notwithstanding all arbitrary suppositions, the phenomena of light will always constitute a category *sui generis*, necessarily irreducible to any other; a light will be forever heterogeneous to a motion or a sound." Then in the same masterly way he goes on to say, that "physiological considerations discredit this confusion of ideas, by the characteristics which distinguish the sense of sight from those of hearing, and of touch or pressure from those of smell. If we could abolish such distinctions as these by gratuitous hypotheses, there is no saying where we should stop in our wanderings. A chemical philosopher might make a type of the senses of taste and smell, and proceed to explain colors and tones by likening them to flowers and scents. It does not require a wilder imagination to do this than to issue as a supposition, now become classical, that sounds and colors are radically alike! It is much better to leave such a pursuit of scientific unity, and to admit that the categories of heterogeneous phenomena are more numerous than a vicious systematizing tendency would suppose."[*] It is interesting to observe that this prince of the positive school of philosophy is the first among scientists to recognize the truth of the trite saying of that great deductive philosopher, that incomparable "man of Galilee," namely, that "The light of the body is the eye."[†] The luminous impulses of the solar ray may be what they may; mathematics may measure and count the number of them which occur in a given space and time; or resolve them into one form or another; but, nevertheless, the fact remains that without the co-ordinating powers of the optic ganglion—the corpus quadrigemina—not only would the body be devoid of light, but the universe itself would be reduced to impenetrable darkness. Nay, more than this, the *idea* of light would not exist.

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[*] *Positive Philosophy*, pp. 232, 233.

[†] We are not unmindful that Christ used this expression in a moral, rather than a physical, sense. The sentence, however, is too full of meaning, in the connection in which it occurs in the text, to be wholly out of place. The following is the whole verse:

"The light of the body is the eye: if, therefore, thine eye be single, thy whole body will be full of light." Matt. vi., 22.

Professor Draper, likewise, gives but a negative assent to the doctrine of undulation. He finds too many physiological properties in the solar ray to justify him in attributing all of them to the agency of mere motion. "The theory," says he, "like the theory of universal gravitation, possesses abundant internal [external?] evidence of truth. In our times extensive and important applications have been made of it, so that it now includes an explanation of all the phenomena of reflection, refraction, polarization, double refraction, interference. As yet, [however,] it has furnished no clear account of the phenomena of absorption, the *very phenomena which are at the basis of all physiological and chemical facts in their relations to luminous agency.* * * * Nor are there yet included in it any representation of the various phenomena of heat."* And the distinguished professor proceeds to point out that, aside from the phenomena of absorption, there are phenomena concerned in the production of tints not fully covered by the degree of refrangibility and the wave-length. Moreover, he says, "there are facts connected with the history of light which seem to prove that beyond this there are peculiarities which are more profound."† The chief of these facts, we may remark, is that discovered by Sir David Brewster, viz.: that different kinds of light—the various elements of the solar ray—can be insulated in the same parts of the spectrum; "that red light existed in the violet spaces, and blue light in the red."

Dr. Draper's researches relative to the physiological and chemical influences of light, take high rank; and the world is especially indebted to him for valuable contributions in these departments of physical knowledge. His views in this connec-

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[*] *Chemistry of Plants*, p. 67. New York. 1844. [†] Ibid, p. 85.

tion, therefore, are all the more weighty. But more of this subject anon.

The more recent discovery in physics, the correlation and indestructibility of Force, is a part of the same great subject, and very forcibly illustrates the tendency of modern science, especially when its discoveries are literally interpreted. It is not too much to say that the discovery of the mutual convertibility of the physical forces is an achievement which remains unparalleled in the annals of modern science. It is unquestionably the grandest of all the grand feats that science has yet accomplished. The late Professor Faraday declared it to be the greatest triumph of physical science of modern times.* And no man was ever better qualified than he to pronounce judgment upon the grandeur of the discovery; no man was better able to see its full force and meaning than he. The indestructibility of matter was long since demonstrated; the equally indestructible character of force remained for Professor Grove to demonstrate within the last three decades.

What does the discovery mean? The correlation of force originally meant that light, heat, actinism, and electricity, etc., were forms of one and the same force. Beginning with light, or sun-force, the other physical forces are but modified forms of light. Light is the queen of them all, for it comprehends all. From light comes all the others; all the other forces are not only mutually convertible, but may also be re-converted into light. In more modern times the meaning of this great discovery has been much extended. It has come to mean that all forces may be correlated. The English barrister built better than he knew.† Instead of his grand idea being con-

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* The precise words of the professor were: "The highest law in physical science which our faculties permit us to perceive—the conservation of force."

† Professor Grove's own statement of the law of correlation of force is as follows:

"The position which I seek to establish in this essay is that the various affections of matter which constitute the main objects of experimental physics, viz.: heat, light, electricity, magnetism, chemical affinfined to matter, it has been legitimately extended to mind. The law has widened the sphere of its operation until it has embraced first, the animal forces, and last the mental and social forces. How unique the idea! The mental convertibility of sun-force and mind-force. Light becoming mind, and mind falling back again to light. There are those who refuse to entertain the proposition to this extent. But viewed from the scientific peak of observation, this wide application of the law is as demonstrable as the simplest problem in physics. It certainly has no limits on the material plain. Light is the basis of affinity in the atoms; light produces actinism in the leaf, and circulates the sap in the stem; light organizes the organic compounds and proximate principles; light carries those compounds up to higher forms, and imbues them with higher life; light carries them up still higher, and converts them into mind. If the doctrine of correlation of force means anything, it means this. Thus says the lucid writer of the Introduction to Professor Grove's fine essay referred to: "The intellectual operations are also directly correlated into physical activities. As in the inorganic world we know nothing of forces except as exhibited by matter, so in the higher intellectual realm we know nothing of mind-force, except through its material changes in the nervous system; and it may now be regarded as a fundamental physiological principle, that 'no idea or feeling can arise, *save as the result of some physical force expended in producing it.*' "*

We confess there are many facts which support these ex-

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ity, and motion, are all correlative, or have a reciprocal dependence; that neither taken abstractedly can be said to be the essential course of the others, but that either may produce or be converted into any of the others; thus heat may mediately or immediately produce electricity, electricity may produce heat; and so of the rest, each merging itself as the force it produces becomes developed; and that the same must hold good of other forces, it being an irresistible influence from observed phenomena that a force cannot originate otherwise than by devolution from some preëxisting force or forces."—*The Correlation of Physical Forces*—p. 19—Int'd.

* Professor Youmans. The italics are ours.

treme views of correlation. Dr. Brown Sequard says that the transformation of nervous into motor force, "takes place at every moment of our lives." He is inclined to believe that light may be correlated directly into nervous force, although "it is not distinctly proven yet." There is, on the other hand, no doubt in his mind, that nervous force may be correlated into light. "There are animals," says this distinguished physiologist, "which are phosphorescent, and which are so under an act of their wills, and, so far as we can judge, under the influence of their nervous system; so that light, also, can be evolved as a transformation of nervous force. There are cases of consumption in which light has come from the lungs. * * * The light appears not only at the head of the patient, but it may radiate from him into the room."* Hence the aura which has been represented as sometimes surrounding the head of saints, may have something more than a mythical basis. But the induction of the physiologist robs it of its supernatural character and its especial glory, when he proves that it is an abnormal transformation of nervous force into common light! Is this another scientific fact devoid of any basis of physical truth?

Mr. Herbert Spencer makes a still wider application of the law of correlation and conservatism than this. He extends it to the phenomena of society—to social forces: "Now that the transformation and equivalence of forces," says he, "are seen by men of science to hold not only throughout all inorganic actions, but throughout all organic actions; now that even mental changes are recognized as the correlatives of central changes, which also comform to this; and now that there must be admitted the carollary that all actions going on in a society are measured by certain antecedent energies which disappear in affecting them, while they themselves become actual or potential energies from which subsequent actions arise; it is strange that there should not have arisen the conciousness that these highest phenomena are to be studied, not, of course, after the same physical methods, but in pursuance of the same principles. And yet scientific men rarely display such a consciousness.* These views of Mr. Spencer are simply a logical extension of the vast doctrine of the correlation of force; and if the complaint he makes, relative to the neglect of them by men of science, be just, it is through no fault of their philosophy, but rather of mental acumen to grasp the stupendous reach of the law.

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* The Nervous Force. A Lecture at the Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass., Feb. 25, 1874.

The doctrine of force-correlation, therefore, is capable of indefinable extension. It is not confined to the molecule, or any form, or condition of matter, or mode, or manifestation of mind. It makes man and mankind; the individual and the species; physiological transformations, and civil and political evolutions. The law reaches the highest and the lowest plain of sublunary phenomena. On the physical plain its operation may be easily traced from step to step through all the intermediate gradations in the inorganic and organic scales—from phenomena the most simple to phenomena the most complex.

Already it is being applied to the sciences and arts of industrial life; to determine, for example, the relative value of the food we eat and the beverages which some of us are disposed to drink. A recent treatise on Food and Diet † makes use of the law to determine the nutritial value of the various varieties of food which civilized people commonly use. According to this test we have only to burn an aliment and measure the products of combustion—especially the amount of heat given off—to determine its scientific value in the economy. This is reducing the complex subject of the best food for everybody, to definite limits—to a formula as exact as an old-fashioned apothecary's prescription. That aliment is the best food which contains the most heat-producing power. The problem is one of oxidation, and requires for its solution only a few appropriate chemical apparatus. Burn the articles to be tested, and the one that yields the largest amount of heat force —that raises a given weight the greatest number of feet—is rated the most nutritious. So at least we infer from Professor Frankland's tables.*

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* *The Study of Sociology.*

† *Foods*, Ed. Smith, M.D., F.R.S. New York, 1873.

To the uninitiated in chemical formulas such a conclusion of such a subject seems impious absurdity, as it ignores endless properties and qualities in food which can only be appreciated and made known to us upon their digestion and assimilation—when, in short, they become a part of us—our personality. It is, however, a conclusion in strict accord with the scientific method, and is fully justified by scientific data. Its barrenness is sufficiently obvious; and we dismiss the subject from further consideration in this place with the firm conviction that there is something more profound in the problem of human nutrition than science has yet revealed.

We see, therefore, how purely objective are the demonstrations of science, in respect to doctrine of the correlation and conservation of force. It certainly needs a great deal of faith-force to enable the average mortal to withstand the conclusion to which it logically tends. In the endless rounds of activities nothing is gained, and, therefore, nothing is lost; nothing is created, and, therefore, nothing is destroyed. The same matter is in all forms; the same force pervades all combinations. Variety in matter is only modifications of the

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* This table of Professor Frankland showing the comparative force-forming value of certain alimentary substances will amply illustrate the meaning of the text:

FOOD.	In combustion raises lbs. of water one degree Fah.	Which is equal to lifting lbs. one foot high.
10 grains of dry flesh	13.12	10.128
10 " " albumen	12.85	9.920
10 " " lump sugar	8.61	6.647
10 " " arrow root	10.06	7.766
10 " " butter	18.68	14.421
10 " " beef fat	20.91	16.142

"Thus we prove," says Dr. Edward Smith, "that an ounce of fresh lean meat, if entirely burnt in the body, would produce heat sufficient to raise about 70 lbs. of water 1 degree Fah., or a gallon of water about 7 degrees Fah. In like manner, an ounce of fresh butter would produce ten times that amount of heat; but, it must be added, that as the combustion which is effected within the body is not always complete, the actual effect is less than that now indicated." "Foods," pp. 5-6.

same principle. Force is the active agent; matter is the passive media. Throughout the material transformations and metamorphoses which take place in nature's vast laboratory, the same force is eternally present; sometimes it is in one form, and sometimes in another; sometimes actual; at others potential; now a maximum in this direction; then a minimum in that; at one time as heat; at another as light; here as nervous or mental force; there electrical or magnetic; but its sum total is always constant—always uniform. The countless forms and combinations of matter, under the energizing impetus of light, afford indubitable evidence to the mind of a scientist of the truth of this grand doctrine of the correlation and conservation of force.

The constitution of the world, therefore, according to the scientific formula, requires but two factors, viz.: matter and force. Matter is the substrate; force is the instrument. Science begins with these, and ends with these. It assumes their existence, modestly confessing that it knows as little and as much of the nature of one as of that of the other. These assumptions are the only admissible ones in inductive philosophy, if we except those of the primary atom,* and the imponderable ether-medium, so indispensable to a just apprehension of the phenomena of light. Anything besides these would, obviously, be in the way—a superfluity, with which it could not safely deal. Let us examine, for a moment, the bearings of chemistry upon this matter.

No single science, perhaps, represents more perfectly the scope and tendency of the scientific method than modern chemistry. These two factors, matter and force, are the constant companions of the chemist, and with them he is able to effect artificially many wonderful transpositions of matter, and to imitate, in the laboratory, many of those beautiful processes and combinations which are peculiar to the inorganic world. The chemist ascends from one combination of matter to another; from the simple he advances to the more complex; binary, tertiary, quarternary compounds are managed with equal skill and precision. From these, again, he forms other and still more complex combinations; and finally ascends to the manipulation of the organic radicals and bases themselves. The mystery with which organic substances were formerly invested, associated with the dim idea of a vital force—an idea no longer tenable—the modern chemist believes he is able to largely dispel; and he confidently asserts that "although *the cause which determines the growth of organized beings is still a perfect mystery*, we now know that the materials of which they consist are subject to the same laws as mineral matter, and [that] the complexity may be traced to *the peculiar qualities* of carbon.* For many years past he has been particularly endeavoring to imitate the organic arrangement of the hypothetical atoms and perfect an organic substance by artificial means. And the assertion has been repeatedly made that success had at last been attained; quite a number of organic acids and bases having been elaborated in the laboratory;

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* The stupendous reach of mathematics seems not unlikely to remove the ultimate atom from the domain of the hypothetical, and to give it a more appreciative place in our—imaginations. The possession of definite knowledge of the length of light-waves has enabled mathematicians to determine the thickness of the ordinary soap-bubble, at its greatest tenuity, just before it breaks. This is found to be the 1-156,000th of an inch. Certain other experiments in the same direction seem to point to the conclusion that if this extreme tenuity of the bubble were extended to the 1-500,000,000th of an inch the limit of divisibility of the water-particles would be attained, having reached the ultimate water atom itself. "Moreover," says Prof. Cook, "it is worthy of notice

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that all these phenomena point to very nearly the same limit. I have great pleasure in referring you, in this connection, to a very remarkable paper of Sir William Thompson, of Glasgow, on this subject, which appeared first in *Nature*. He fixes the limit at between the 1-250,000,000 and 1-5,000,000,000 of an inch, and, in order to give some conception of the degree of coarse-grainedness (as he calls it) thus indicated by the structure, he adds that, if we conceive a sphere of water as large as a pea to be magnified to the size of the earth, each molecule being magnified to the same extent, the magnified structure would be coarser-grained than a heap of small lead shot, but less coarse-grained than a heap of cricket-balls !"—*The New Chemistry*, p. 34–35.

* *The New Chemistry*, p. 292.

and although the base and origin of organic life, the cell, has not yet yielded its mystery to the search and skill of the chemist, the prediction is made in high quarters that it must soon be compelled to do so.* We hope it may; meantime, we wait and watch with ill-concealed anxiety the consequences of such an achievement upon future generations of animal life.

Moreover, the chemist is able to analyze the human body, and to tell with precision the various elementary constituents which enter into its organization, and their destiny after its dissolution. Its weight is just the same after the vital functions are arrested as before; and when dust returns to dust, and ashes to ashes, he can demonstrate that all the subject took from nature is given back to her again in the slow but inevitable process of physical disintegration. Not a molecule is lost; not a force missing; conformable to the order of nature, the elements of man's physical organization ascends the peak of the organic scale, and falls back again to commence once more the slow and toilsome round, but in other forms. But whence is "life," that mysterious *esse* or principle in the organism, which as yet escapes the counterfeiting brand of the chemist? Ah! that is only the force expended *in the organism* by the chemical processes of transformation and disintegration of tissue.†

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* "The chemist," gratuitously says Prof. Cook, "has never succeeded in forming a single organic cell, and the whole process of its growth and development is entirely beyond the range of his knowledge; but he has every reason to expect that, in the no distant future, he will be able to prepare, in his laboratory, both the material of which that cell is fashioned, and the various products with which it becomes filled during life."—*Ibid*, p. 292–293.

† Nothing in the history of Inductive Philosophy is more interesting from a physiological point of view, than the progressive attempts to define the nature of *life*. The eminent French physiologist, Bichat, early in the present century, defined life thus: "La vie est l'ensemble des functions qui resiste à la mort."—*Recherches Physiologiques sur la Vie et la Mort. Art.* 1. And still earlier, the distinguished French naturalist, Cuvier, recorded his definition of it as follows: "Dans chaque être, la vie est un ensemble qui résulte de l'action et de la réaction mutuelle

So long as these processes continued, the organism was able to utilize the force liberated by the process of disintegration, which is as constant in life as after death, in its own behalf, and for its own perpetuity. When it could no longer do that, life ceased; its flame went out for the want of heat, rather than feel the force which constituted life having reverted to nature along with the elements disintegrated. Such in brief is the scientific interpretation of the problem of human life and death—of all life and of all death on the planet. But is there nothing more in the complex problems of life and death? No, nothing within the narrow confines of scientific demonstration. The chemico-vital philosophy of the scientist is absolutely supreme within its reach, which includes all nature's organic domain. It is as competent to explain the growth and decadence of mind, as that of muscle; the mental functions, as the lower, coporeal functions. The intellect of

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de toutes ses parties."—*Le Régna Animal*, *tome* i., *Introduction*, p. 16. This definition of Cuvier seems to have given very general satisfaction up to within a recent period. Mr. Lawrence, an English author of some note in the early part of the present century, gave a definition nearly coincident with that of Cuvier, viz., "Life is the assemblage of all the functions (or purposes), and the general result of their exercise."—*Introd. to Comp. Anat. and Phys.*, p. 120. *Cited from Good's Study of Mediine*, ii., 163. Coming down to Dr. Whewell, we find this definition of the subject: "Life is the system of vital functions."—*History of Scientific Ideas*, ii., p. 98; and quite recently, to Mr. Spencer, this "Life is the continual adjustment of internal relations to external relations."—*Principles of Psychology*, part 1st. This definition is obviously defective. A still later, and a better definition, is that of M. Alphonse de Candolle, who declares that, "Life is the transformation of physical or chemical motion into plastic or nervous motion."—*Historie des Sciences*, p. 457. This view of the subject is thoroughly consistent with the latest developments in physiology. Dr. Brown Sequard has shown that any kind of animal tissue is endowed with force (life) peculiar to itself.—*Lectures on the Nervous Force.* Boston, 1874. Hence the idea of life, as an *esse*, is obsolete, and must be abandoned. Scientifically speaking there are as many forms of "life" as there are tissues to co-ordinate the physical forces. Both life and mind are only higher forms of one and the same force—Light. Sun-force we have seen is the source whence all other forces are derived—correlated.

a philosopher; the imagination of a poet; the spiritual review of a saint; the trusting faith of an anchorite; the extravagant sentiment of a lover; the remorse of conscience; the emotions of grief, fear, revenge, etc., present phenomena as explicable, it is alleged by the terms of this philosophy, as are those on the lower plain of life and nature. No less, and no more.

Furthermore, we have already remarked the high position which the same occupies in physical philosophy, as the force factor of creation. "The same is the source of all those forms of light and life," says a modern astronomer,* which exist upon the earth. "That is no idle dream," continues he. "No fancy of the imagination." "Every form of force upon the the earth; every action that we perform; all the forms of forces we know of; even the thoughts we think, may be said to come from the sun. It is by the sun's heat that life is maintained upon the earth." This is an apparent truth. It is a scientific fact, no doubt. In this science of ours, which has confessedly achieved such great results, and been of such in calculable benefit to the darkly-minded millions of mankind, the sun is the most important factor. The sun, we have seen, is the source of all those forces which the sensuous mind conceives to be essential, nay indispensable, to the order, stability, progressive prosperity and government of the world. So long as the sun endures with unimpaired integrity, the existence of the planet is secure, as well as that of the progressive order of life, organization and mind, upon it. That such a conclusion is a logical possibility, would be of itself, to many, sufficient evidence of the incompleteness—nay, more that that, *failure*—of the scientific method.

Finally, it is needless to longer multiply evidence of the inevitable tendency of the exclusively analytical method in dealing with the complex problems of life and mind. An "exclusively analytical view of the world,"† says M. Papillon, before quoted, "has led us to a first undeniable certainty, the existence of a principle of energy and motion. A second view of the universe, exclusively synthetic, leads us, as we have seen, to another certainty, which is the existence of a principle of differentiation and harmony. This principle is what we call spirit." The existence of this principle of differentiation in nature is as certain to the deductive mind as is that of the primary atom, or the imponderable ether to the inductive mind. Indeed, to the former this differentiation is no hypothesis at all. It represents a factor, a personality—in nature as fixed in his method as self-consciousness. Without its aid one could never rise to the cognition of a creature, much less to that of a Creator; but would be forever compelled to confine his aspirations to the temporal destiny of acids and alkalies, functions and forces. The *ego* in man could never have anything more than a mythical existence—Faith would ever be indispensable to bridge over the chasm between soul-life and material-existence—to repair a most fatal defect in the philosophy of human life.

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* Professor Proctor's *Lecture on the Sun*, New York, Jan'y 8, 1874.

† "*The Constitution of Matter.*"

It is unnecessary, perhaps, to enlarge upon this phase of our subject; for nothing can be more perfectly obvious than the inadequacy of the scientific method to meet the requirements of even a rational philosophy, and to satisfy the natural instincts of human beings. Mr. Buckle, in the essay to which we have referred, remarks this defect of the analytical or scientific method in resolving physical problems, and points out the necessity of bringing to our aid the synthetical or deductive method, if we would form just conceptions of physical phenomena. "The farther our knowledge advances," says he, "the greater will be the need of rising to transcendental views of the physical world."* If we must generalize and form hypotheses, it is certainly quite as becoming to the dignity of the understanding to do so on the subjective side of nature as on the objective; and if we then fail to fathom the Infinite, as we probably will, we shall at least not fail to get below the surface of things, nor commit the common error of mistaking the phenomenal for the actual in nature.

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* "What makes all this the more serious is, that the farther our knowledge advances, the greater will be the need of rising to transcendental views of the physical world. To the magnificent doctrine of the indestructibility of matter, we are now adding the no less magnificent one of the indestructibility of force; and we are beginning to perceive that, according to the ordinary scientific treatment, our investigations must be confined to questions of metamorphosis and of distribution; that the study of causes and of entities is forbidden to us; and that we are lim-

"The object of science is to teach us the invisible," says an eminent physicist. We have no doubt of it. The influence of scientific studies tends undeniably in that direction. But we respectfully maintain, and the point cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that it is not due to any intrinsic virtue of the inductive method, that the invisible is revealed—except *force* be the invisible referred to, which is always invisible; but rather to the unfolding of the interior preceptions, which such studies effect. One might with equal reason claim that the superstitious vagaries of the Middle Ages promoted the growth of the moral virtues, because those graces were cultivated, to some extent, during their propagation. It is easy to mistake the coincident for the consequent. Man comes to regard scientific demonstrations as something to delight his intellect, without disturbing his faith. The enlightened mind instinctively transposes such demonstrations; reads them as he would read the Chinese language, if at all, backwards; and is thus enabled to so interpret them as to do no violence to the existence of his personality here, or to its destiny in the hereafter. In other words, he comes to regard scientific *facts* as physical illusions; and too often to confound the scientifically true with the physically false.

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ited to phenomena through which and above which we can never hope to pass. But, unless I greatly err, there is something in us which craves for more than this. Surely we shall not always be satisfied, even in physical science, with the cheerless prospect of never reaching beyond the laws of co-existence and of sequence? Surely this is not the be-all and end-all of our knowledge. And yet, according to the strict canons of inductive logic, we can do no more."—*Buckle's Essay on the Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge.*

ART. II.—1. *Woman's Record.* By SARAH J. HALE. New York.

2. *The True Woman.* Edited by C. E. McKAY. Baltimore.

3. *Women of the War.* Hartford.

4. *John Stuart Mill on Woman Suffrage.* Speech in the British Parliament. London.

[Although nearly all the more alarming symptoms of the "Woman's Rights" mania have subsided, and there is good reason to hope that the malady will not assume the epidemic form again, in this country, for at least a decade, we do not hesitate to make room for the article for which the above titles serve as a heading. We are sure that a fact or two will fuily justify us in the minds of our readers in devoting so much space to a subject which, with the exception that it still possesses certain salient points, may be regarded as rather hackneyed.

The writer of the article is a lady to whom, it may be justy said, the present generation of Americans owe much, both as an educator and author. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that no country has produced two sisters that have done more for the education of their sex than this lady and her sister. The latter died some years ago at an advanced age, but retaining her intellectual faculties to the last; and the void which she left is still painfully apparent; it is literally true that no one has been found capable of taking her place, so that the scene of her useful and honorable labors for nearly half a century may now be said to be one of desolation. Seeing it recently so much changed, we could not help recalling the Celtic bard's description of the dwelling of Moina—"The thistle shook *there* its lonely head; the moss whistled to the wind. The fox looked out from the windows; the rank grass of the wall waved round its head."

The snows of eighty winters, or more, have passed over the surviving sister, and she is still an indefatigable laborer in the intellectual field. There is no female educational institution in America in which her text-books are not known, and there are few of the best similar European institutions to which their fame has not extended.

But there is yet another reason why we should treat the manuscript before us with deference; its author was one of our earliest contributors. We well remember how much struck we were with a passage in a letter accompanying her first article, written more than fourteen years ago, in which she informed us that we must not regard her as a young lady whose youth or personal attractions might be an inducement to an editor to give a place to her article, but as one more than halt a century old, with hair as white as snow, and who claimed nothing more than that, if her article was deemed worthy of a place, on its own merits, it would receive one. We trust we need hardly say that we were not the less willing on this account to give our readers the benefit of the lady's matured, judicious and instructive views. During the intervening fourteen years she has contributed, at intervals, some valuable papers, all of which she reprinted in book form about a year ago, with some additional matter; and we are glad to know that none of her works have been better received by the more cultivated and thoughtful portion of the public.

The above various reasons would fully justify us, as we have said, in presenting the present article to our readers, *in extenso*, as we do, but we have an additional reason: the lady's views on the subject of " Woman's Rights " are nearly identical with our own. This our readers will see for themselves. Our last article on the subject is that from which our esteemed and venerable contributor quotes, and may be remembered from its title—" Woman's Rights viewed Physiologically and Historically "—as having attracted some attention, and done some good when it was published. We have, indeed, always opposed " Woman's Rights " as often, and as much as we deemed necessary; but upon what ground, or in what spirit? The best answer to this will be found in the following extract from the article quoted by our contributor:

> "No intelligent, sensible person need be informed that we are not actuated, in writing this article, by any hostility to the sex. Nor do we oppose their competing with men in the high-ways and by-ways of

the world, on the ground of their being inferior to men either intellectually or morally; indeed, we have ever held that women *are much better*, morally, than men. They are *more honest and more truthful, as well as more virtuous, and less disposed to the commission of crime*. As to our depreciating their intellectual capacities, we think it will be admitted that we have always pursued the opposite course. And as a proof of our sincerity, we could point to articles in different numbers of our journal, contributed by ladies, which are *among the most brilliant* contributions we have received, and their authors would bear us testimony that we did not value them anything the less, pecuniarily or otherwise, for their being the productions of women. It is precisely, then, *because we think highly of the sex* IN EVERY RESPECT, that we are opposed to those habits and practices whose inevitable tendency is to degrade them."*

With these remarks as a preface, we allow our octogenarian contributor to speak for herself, and for those who, like her, are an honor to their sex; and it will be admitted that she does so with graphic eloquence and unflagging vigor.]

AN able and learned article on the subject of "Woman's Rights" may be found in the December number of the "National Quarterly Review," 1869. Since that time the subject has assumed graver importance and new phases. We will quote from the "Review" the following remarks, no less true now than when published a few years since:

"If we inquire who are opposed to 'Woman's Rights' (in the popular sense of the term), we shall have to place in that category the greatest women as well as the greatest men of all ages and countries. The great philosopher, the great poet, the great soldier, the great scientific discoverer, the great jurist, the great divine, those who love woman best and esteem her most, are all equally opposed to 'woman's rights.' In short, those who would be the first to die, if necessary, in defence of woman, would be the last to concede those rights, precisely because they are too precious of her to expose her to what would inevitably degrade her, though no rude or lascivious hand should ever be laid upon her in the competition with men."†

We shall enter upon our subject by referring, first, to the Bible for the origin of the human race, as created man and woman, not according to modern infidelity, gradually proceeding, by fortuitous circumstances, from reptiles or monkeys, to the dignity of rational beings.

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* N. Q. R., No. xxxix.

† *Woman's Rights viewed Physiologically and Historically.* N. Q. R., No. xxxix.

In the garden of Eden was a solitary man. The Lord said it is not good for him to be alone, and a woman was made from his own flesh and given him for a companion. But there was a subtle and seductive being, who approached Eve in the absence of her husband, and began to question her as to the privileges or *rights* which they enjoyed in their paradise. The simple-hearted woman, who had never thought of questioning the justice of God's command, was persuaded to comply with the suggestions of the tempter; she then told Adam what she had done, and induced him to become a partaker in her sin; thus they both fell from their primeval state of innocence, and were cast out of the Garden of Eden. Since then there has been on earth no paradise for the human race.

This lesson is full of instruction for woman. She was created to be the companion of man, to cheer his solitude, and to assist him in his duties. This very relation implies a difference between them—a companion or assistant is in a secondary position. By the believer in Divine revelation, the subordinate condition of the woman at the creation must be admitted. The weakness of Eve in listening to, and parleying with, the tempter is but too characteristic of her frail daughters. The yielding of Adam to the solicitations of his wife indicates the influence of the woman. The sacred history of the creation and fall of the first pair contains the germ of the whole subject which has of late agitated the social system.

As the human race passes down the stream of time we find the man always spoken of in the Bible as the "Head of the Family." Noah and his family were saved in the ark. Abraham was the head of the Jewish family. Sarah is mentioned as of less importance in respect to station. Isaac had a wife, Rebecca. Jacob's wives are named as connected with his history. Of the wife of Joseph we only know that she was an Egyptian princess. Yet there were distinguished women among the Israelites, as Meriam, the poet and prophetess, and Deborah, who, for seven years, was judge over her people.

The records of ancient profane history show that women sometimes acted an important part as heroines or sovereigns; but these were exceptional cases. The destinies of mankind were mostly governed, *ostensibly*, by men; for in all ages women have greatly influenced the minds of rulers and legislators. Yet Cleopatra, the great queen, was subjected through her affections; and Elizabeth of England had her feminine weaknesses.

The Christian era brought out the better parts of woman's character, her spirituality or religious feelings. Around the Mother of Christ are grouped other Marys and good women, who were faithful to Jesus even unto death; and to whom was first declared his resurrection. In the infancy of the Christian Church, as recorded by the Evangelists and the writers of the Epistles, especially St. Paul, noble and honorable women ministered to the saints, were foremost in good works, and ready to give up the world for the sake of their religion; and we now find in Christian churches women more numerous than men, and often more devoted, more spiritual-minded, and more self-sacrificing. If it be asked, why is this? the answer comes from the depths of woman's heart: "We are more subject to pains of body and weakness of mind through our peculiar physical organization; we feel more sensibly the need of help from God; therefore our emotions are readily affected by the truths of religion. Our very weakness becomes strength through the power of the Christian faith.

We have briefly sketched woman as she came from the hand of her Creator, and as she is represented in history. We have now to trace the origin and progress of opinions which would upturn the established order of society, and place the companion and subordinate at the head, or in the position of him for whom she was created. God said, "It is not good for man to be alone." Shall we impugn His justice in creating woman for such a cause? It may seem humiliating to our pride, but, unless we reject the Bible, we must "accept the situation." Let us, therefore, submit to be what God made us. We find that in spiritual gifts, and in intellectual capacities, women are not inferior. Mrs. Hale, in her

"Record of Women," says: "As woman in her corporeal frame was the more delicate and refined, so her spirit was purer and holier than man's." From the preface of this valuable work we quote the following:

> "It is not to exhibit the good deeds of my sex, as the world understands greatness, that I undertook the task of preparing this record of celebrated women. Viewed in the light, or rather the shadow, of earthly value, the female sex has done little worthy of fame, little to advance the material interests of society, or build up the renown of nations. But we venture to assert that, in the moral progress of mankind, woman has been God's most efficient agent, the co-worker with His Providence, in those remarkable events which have changed the fate of nations, brought light out of darkness, and given impulse and direction to the souls of men, when these sought to advance the cause of righteousness."

Mrs. Hale's work is divided into four eras:—"First Era includes the forty centuries from the creation to the Messiah's advent. During all this time the female sex had only three natural gifts of a lovelier organization of form, and a purer moral sense, to aid them in the struggle with sin which had taken possession of the brute strength and human understanding of men." "Era Second includes the time from the birth of Christ to the year 1500." In this Era the author traces the effort of Christianity throughout the civilized world to elevate woman, and through her influence to cause the gradual improvement of society. "Era Third contains sketches of eminent women who have lived and died since 1500." The author traces the various causes which, in addition to the Gospel emancipation, threw light upon the mental condition of women during this period of time. "Era Fourth is devoted to the living, who are already known by their writings." Since the publication of this volume, more than twenty years since, the greater number of those women have passed away from earth. It is our province to consider what the women of the present day are doing for their own improvement or to benefit society; what are the questions which now agitate the busy minds of certain masculine-*feminines* in respect to their *rights*, seemingly forgetful of womanly duties.

We shall not attempt, in our discriminating between the different vocations of the two sexes, to explain the physiological differences which make woman the "*weaker vessel*" in respect to physical strength and endurance. The boldness and indelicacy with which this subject is canvassed by public speakers, in addresses before mixed audiences, and in books written for popular use, are characteristic of the present age, in which the Creator of the universe is canvassed with daring appeals, as if He were amenable to human laws of criticism or analysis. We may expect his works will be discussed with as little reverence. But every woman of delicacy must blush to see, on the parlor tables or shelves of the common family library, books in which the mysteries of her organization, subjects that from girlhood she has been accustomed to regard as sacred, are explained and exhibited. The discussion of "Sex in Education," and "No Sex in Education," is forced upon us. Physicians have felt called upon to give reasons why women are not able to compete with men in colleges, professions, etc. Developments and revelations formerly confined to the lecture-room of medical students, or to medical books, are now published to the world. Women who can add M.D. to their names have, in some instances, outraged modesty in their lectures to miscellaneous audiences, in which the most delicate subjects appertaining to marriage, etc., are discussed as freely as one would speak of the changes in the vegetable kingdom.

It was in 1791 that Mary Wollstonecraft published her "Vindication of the Rights of Women," a work which attracted public attention, and, except in few cases, received condemnation. It gave to her name notoriety. Like many others who have followed in her footsteps, she advocated the doctrine of free love, and no-marriage. Meeting with the infidel philosopher, William Godwin, there sprang up between these two gifted but misguided minds a mutual attachment. At the birth of her daughter, afterwards the wife of the poet Shelley, the mother died; in order to legitimatize the child, the parents had been married a short time before its birth.

Conspicuous as a champion of the new doctrines was Fanny Wright, afterwards known as D'Arusmont. To a French education in the days of revolutionary France she attributed, in after years, the infidel and immoral sentiments which she had advocated. It is said that, in her last days, she partially abjured her former theories and speculations. But the bad seed, the tares, had been sown;—Fanny Wright's doctrines were disseminated; and societies bearing her name were formed in various parts of the United States. In France these doctrines have been carried out by the Communists; to their influence, in a great measure, may be traced the horrors of the French revolutions in 1793, 1830, and 1848. A daughter of Fanny Wright D'Arusmont has recently appeared in Washington as a disclaimer against the opinions of her mother and the woman suffragists.

After the advent of Fanny Wright there would be an occasional outbreak in some part of the country. Some woman lecturer, or man who had espoused the cause, would cause a sensation; this phenomenon was not regarded with alarm, as, in general, women were quietly going on in the beaten track. There were, indeed, some who loomed up as educators of their sex, who urged that the fathers of the State should provide schools for the daughters as well as the sons. Men of enlightened minds listened to these pleadings, and legislatures showed a willingness to make provision for such an object; but though there were difficulties as to the best manner of doing this, a liberal spirit was evinced. Thus, in the case of a plea by Emma Willard to the legislature of New York in behalf of the endowment of a female seminary, Governor De Witt Clinton strongly advocated the claim, commending it in his inaugural address. The petition was favorably reported by a committee; yet the bill was lost through some technical obstruction. But the good seed was not lost; the improvements in education went on through private patronage. This was a step in the right direction.

Women, too, appeared as authors, producing works upon science, literature, and education, not inferior to those written by the other sex. But none of these women were among the advocates for woman's rights as synonymous with free love and infidelity. Yet they claimed the right to their own opinions, and that of influencing their husbands and sons to do their duty as good citizens and law-makers for the country. But the sparks which had been scattered by the woman's rights' champions kindled into flame in many localities. One of the most prominent is described in the lives of "Eminent Women of the Age,"* as hating from childhood the restraints upon the female sex, and angry that girls were not sent to college with boys; revolting against the authority of the female seminary where she was placed for her education. In this book of "Eminent Women" it is related of her as a mark of *heroism* that at midnight, on one occasion, "she kicked the large hand-bell of the school down the third-story stairs, startling the girls and their teachers from their slumbers by the unwonted noise," she herself being found quietly in bed when investigation was made as to its cause. We might expect such a girl would, as a woman, *make some noise in the world.* Another of the "Eminent Women" whose lives are recorded in the book above mentioned, and whose name has been conspicuous on account of her attempting to force her vote into the ballot-box, had made herself notorious in educational conventions by arrogantly obtruding her opinions, to the disgust of other women who had been invited to attend, and who wished not to see one of their sex claiming a dictatorship.

To the Woman's Rights party have been added men, influenced by different motives, to espouse this cause; some, doubtless, who sincerely believe that women ought to have equal rights in the government of the state and nation; others, of chivalric feelings, who would have women gratified in their wishes. How many of their male allies have been influenced by the desire for notoriety, or the expectation of personal consequence or political advantages by becoming prominent in this party, we will not pretend to say. In "The True Woman" for April, 1872, we read: "In New Hampshire Mrs L—— is cheering on the Republicans with promises to throw herself and her party into their arms if they will allow them to vote, while in Connecticut Mrs. B—— H—— is offering the same conditions to the Democrats. Not a very good augury for the halcyon days of 'peace and good will,' only attainable by female suffrage!"

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* A book with this title appeared some few years ago, containing, with the biographies of the leading *suffragists*, the lives of Emma Willard and Lydia W. Sigourney. It will appear hereafter that Mrs. Willard was surprised to find her name thus associated.

At length the National Capitol resounded with the shrieks of women for freedom. There had been circulated throughout the country petitions to Congress for the "*right to vote.*" Several thousand signatures had been given to the petition. The name of Biddy or Phyllis added, numerically, as much to the list as that of any educated woman. A new feeling of consequence was given to the lower class by such an appeal to them to *demand their rights* of the usurpers. A sensation was created. A revolution seemed impending. Even senators began to look alarmed, and to inquire with solicitude, "Do the women of the country want to vote?"

The cause seemed to be gaining ground. Washington became for a time the rendezvous. Women of refinement went thither to join its forces, doubtless impelled by various motives: some from honest convictions of right and justice, others from less worthy considerations. One lady, who became prominent as a leader, grieved her family and friends by her conduct. They saw her depart for Washington "with bleeding hearts," and wrote to friends at that city to receive her, *pitifully*, as one acting under a delusion.

On the 10th of February, 1870, a hearing was granted by the senate committee of the District of Columbia, to a delegation of ladies, one of whom, Mrs. C. E. McKay, of Massachusetts, read a paper remonstrating against the extension of suffrage to the women of the United States. This paper was afterwards presented as a memorial in the senate, referred to the committee on the judiciary, and ordered to be printed as a congressional document. It was afterwards, as a tract, extensively circulated throughout the country.

It was a few months after this that certain ladies in Washington, alarmed at what was passing in that city, met at the

Capitol and organized an "Anti-Woman's Suffrage Association." Prominent in this movement were Mrs. Admiral Dalghren, Mrs. Gen. Sherman, and the wives of Senators Sherman, Edmunds, Poland, Corbett, Scott, etc., with wives of members of the house of representatives, and of clergymen of different denominations, Mrs. Joseph Henry, Miss Catherine Beecher, Miss Carroll, etc. Mrs. Lincoln Phelps was appointed corresponding secretary.

The following petition to Congress was forwarded, in the spring of 1871, to prominent women in the different states, with the request that it should be circulated among those who were capable of judging of the merits of the question:

"*To the Congress of the United States, protesting against an Extension of Suffrage to Women:*

"WE, the undersigned, do hereby appeal to your honorable body, and desire respectfully to enter our protest against an extension of Suffrage to Women; and in the firm belief that our petition represents the sober convictions of the majority of the women of the country.

"Although we shrink from the notoriety of the public eye, yet we are too deeply and painfully impressed by the grave perils which threaten our peace and happiness in these proposed changes in our civil and political rights, longer to remain silent.

"Because Holy Scripture inculcates a different, and for us higher sphere, apart from public life.

"Because as women we find a full measure of duties, cares, and responsibilities devolving upon us, and we are therefore unwilling to bear other and heavier burdens, and those unsuited to our physical organization.

"Because we hold that an extension of suffrage would be adverse to the interests of the working-women of the country, with whom we heartily sympathize.

"Because these changes must introduce a fruitful element of discord in the existing marriage relation, which would tend to the infinite detriment of children, and increase the already alarming prevalence of divorce throughout the land.

"Because no general law, affecting the condition of all women, should be framed to meet exceptional discontent.

"For these, and many more reasons, do we beg of your wisdom that no law extending suffrage to women may be passed, as the passage of such a law would be fraught with danger so grave to the general order of the country."

The above petition, which was sent out under the sanction of the Anti-Suffrage Committee of Washington, was responded to very generally from various parts of the country. Many thousands of names were sent in response from north and south, east and west, of our vast country; from Maine and Oregon, from the northern and western lake states, and from the shores of the Mississippi; there was no dividing party between the north and south to separate the true women of the country.

The lists of names, as they were forwarded at different times from different states, were presented to congress with marks of approbation in the senate and house of representatives; there was, evidently, a belief at the heart of the nation that "*the women did not want to vote*," nor to make disturbance in the country.

In March, 1871, a monthly publication was issued from Baltimore called "The True Woman." The editor, Mrs. Charlotte E. McKay, had the year previous appeared before a committee of the senate with a memorial against woman suffrage; she may therefore be recorded as the first woman who thus publicly protested against this movement. The object of this paper was to meet the question of woman suffrage, and to give information of the progress of events respecting that movement; as also to point out the various channels which might be opened for the encouragement of female industry and independence, and to give examples of women who have successfully labored for the improvement of their sex, or have nobly borne the burthens of life, giving examples of true heroism and Christian resignation. This paper was continued until December, 1873, when the editor announced that, for personal considerations, there would be no further issue of it. As the paper had met with success, and was increasing in patronage, there was much regret among its readers and those interested in the great question of what is *best for women*, at its demise; the field is now open, and though the waning of the suffrage cause is evident from the ill success of meetings in Washington, and even in Boston, as well as other places, there is still the great subject of the welfare of women to be discussed, and such a paper as "The True Woman" is needed.

Mrs. McKay deserves a passing notice, not merely as the first woman who came boldly out to oppose the pretensions of the suffragists, but for what she had before done to merit the gratitude of her country. In "The Women of the War," is her record, among the heroines who distinguished themselves at the period of our late civil war, for labors in the public service. The author of the work says:

> "The interval between the blasting of earthly hopes and the arrival of death can be passed in no activity so wholesome or congenial as in labors of public charity. Thinking thus, in the spring of 1862, when her pleasant home in Massachusetts had been utterly desolated by the sucessive death of her husband and only child, Mrs. McKay turned the key in the door of the home which was dear to her now only for the memory of what had been, and sought oblivion, and at the same time usefulness, in the army of the Potomac."

She went first to Frederic City, in Maryland, in time to assist in the care of the wounded from the battle of Winchester. Notwithstanding her arduous duties in doing and directing, she found time to keep a diary, from which her biographer makes many interesting extracts, showing that with ernegy of character and a large philanthropy she had improved her natural talents by literary culture. She describes with a graphic pen the life in hospitals and its various incidents. After the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, the bleeding and mangled remnants of the great hosts engaged in that eventful struggle were crowded into the Frederic hospital; she describes the battle as seen from the highest point of their building, and the rushing forth of the nurses and attendants to meet the litters of the wounded as they came pouring in from the fatal scene of action. Then at Washington, at Fredericksburg, and in front of Petersburg. She was found wherever her assumed duty called her. She remained more than a year after the close of the war, nursing the sick and looking after the poor and distressed freedmen.

The services of Mrs. McKay were appreciated and acknowledged by the soldiers and officers of the army, many of whom, in the warmth of their gratitude, were ready to "fall down and kiss the hem of her garment." In December, 1864, at a meeting of sick and wounded officers at the "Cavalry-Corps Hospital, City Point, Virginia," a special meeting was held for the purpose of an expression of opinion in regard to the labors of Mrs. C. E. McKay, in connection with this hospital. A committee was appointed to draft resolutions, in which it was said that she deserved "a meed of praise which the proudest of our generals might envy;" and further it was

> "*Resolved*, That in view of her long and faithful service to her country for the last three years, we pray the Legislature of Massachusetts to tender to Mrs. McKay a vote of thanks, and to petition his Excellency Governor Andrew to confer upon her the commission of a captain of cavalry, together with the pay and emoluments thereof, as a just tribute to one of Massachusetts' most loyal daughters—an act to which every officer and soldier of the army of the Potomac would respond with heartfelt, Amen."

Had Mrs. McKay been a weak or an ambitious woman, such distinctions might have warped her judgment, and set her off upon a crusade for women's rights, and public declamation upon the injustice of men in regard to them. But not so; her public work being finished, she looked about for somthing to do. She saw with sorrow and humiliation, a *new war of rebellion* carried on, not between different states of our country, but in households—women rising up against their fathers, brothers, and husbands. As a Christian woman she recoiled from the infidelity which was patent in that movement; as a virtuous woman she abhorred the free-love doctrines; and as a patriot she respected the laws of her country. It was at this period that Mrs. McKay, encouraged by those of her sex who sympathized with her, resolved to publish the paper called "The True Woman." There were able pens to assist in this undertaking. We shall briefly notice some of the contributors, with a few of their articles.

In No. 1 is a long and interesting letter from Mrs. Anna H. Dorsey, who discusses, with much ability, the question, "What need is there for Female Suffrage?" Mrs. Dorsey was welcomed into the ranks of the true women as aiding to establish the fact, that the best and most thoughtful of the sex are opposed to the suffrage movement. Shakespeare, himself, in a quotation, comes with a broad grin, in the character of Mistress Ford, of the "Midsummer Night's Dream," to throw the barbed arrow of ridicule into the camp of the suffragists:

> "Why, I'll exhibit
> A bill in parliament for the
> Putting down of men."

Mrs. Carey Long contributes articles in prose and verse throughout the whole course of three volumes of the paper. We trust that now, in the prime of her life, she will regard it as a duty to society and a thank-offering to the Giver of her abilities, to collect and add to her writings. One of Mrs. Long's contributions, called "*Vesuvianism*," shows that the explosions which have broken out in our country are in part but repetitions of the outbursts which at different periods have occurred in France, and have become, even there, "extinct volcanoes." The author remarks: "It is amusing to find the whole woman movement on this side of the Atlantic a mere outworn French fashion." Then follows a sketch of the rise and progress of "Women's Rights" in France. The terrible events of 1793 are connected with this history. In 1848 a number of French women enrolled themselves under the name of "*Vesuviennes*." They promenaded the streets, rushed to the Hotel de Ville, where the provisionary government was in session, and boldly demanded *their rights*. Ridicule soon put down this combination; but following them were those of a different stamp, the George Sand School, brothers in intellect, fascinating in manners, and more wily in their tactics; but the leaven of infidelity and immodesty was working in their councils—one of their leaders, before a public tribunal, declared herself a St. Simonienne and communist, and that, in consequence, she repudiated marriage and inheritance; and that, faithful to her principles, she had never wished to have a husband; at the same time proclaiming herself the mother of several children. At length the provisional government took measures to break up these clubs, as subversive of all morality and feminine decency.

In a series of articles on the "Lives and Opinions of True Women," Mrs. Long gives an interesting sketch of the labors of Madame Cavé, the Emily Faithful of France, who, by the aid of public and private donations, has established in Paris various institutions, not only for education in literature and science, but for the instruction of women in the fine arts, and in the various branches of industry which tend to make them useful and independent. Madame Cavé is decided in her views as to an appropriate sphere for woman, but she would enlarge this sphere without entrenching upon those peculiar responsibilities which nature, religion, and law have assigned to man.

The name of Madeline Vinten Dahlgren will ever be associated with the anti-woman suffrage defence. This lady is well known to the public as the author of the life of her husband, Admiral Dahlgren, and of his son, Colonel Dahlgren, with other works. Her late book on "Etiquette in Washington," her translation of De Chambrun's "Government of the United States," and her admirable "South Sea Sketches," now in the course of publication, prove the extent and variety of her learning and accomplishments.

Under the head of "Lives and Opinions of True Women," Mrs. Dahlgren gives an interesting article on Madame Swetchine. "For more than a score of years this remarkable woman exercised an almost unbounded influence over the minds of many of the distinguished persons who sought her society. What a mighty influence, then, emanated from that circle over which presided this priestess of women!" Madame Swetchine's writings breathe the spirit of Christian love and faith. Educated in the Greek Church in France, she attached herself to the Roman Catholic. She was truly a Catholic in the broad and best sense of the word, and so we believe to be the good and accomplished author of this sketch of her history.

"Journalism and Woman Suffrage" is an article by Mrs. Dahlgren, in which she traces the licentiousness of the press in treating of families and individuals, to the deterioration in respect to delicacy and decorum caused by women lecturers. She says: "Let us not waste precious moments in futile indignation at the journalism of the day, but arm ourselves to check the public sentiment now being fostered which gives it life and encouragement." "The Medical Profession," by Mrs. Dahlgren, contains nine suggestions on a somewhat difficult subject, when considered in relation to women doctors. When we consider that Mrs. Dahlgren is at the head of a large household, the mother of young children, dispensing generous hospitalities, engaged in public charities, and then think of her literary labors, with an extensive correspondence, verily we are ready to exclaim, "Many women have accomplished much, but *she more!*"

Another of the contributors of the paper under review is Miss Susan Fennimore Cooper, daughter of our American novelist, the writer upon "Female Suffrage in New Jersey," and upon other subjects bearing upon the woman question. As a contributor to "Harper's Magazine" she had previously given the testimony of her strong reasoning powers against the claim to suffrage for woman.

Miss Catherine Beecher, as one of those who sent out the first petition against the movement, has also some contributions to "The True Woman;" Mrs. Beecher Stowe, with her trenchant blade, has in her various writings ridiculed the pretensions of the ballot-women, as in her "Pink and White Tyranny," "My Wife and I," etc.; while their brother, the Rev. Henry Ward, stands upon this subject, as upon many others, upon the fence, ready, as it would seem, to jump over to the successful side.

Another contributor of "The True Woman" is Mrs. Sarah Lanman Hopper, whose articles attract by their directness, their womanly delicacy and manly logic. In "Accidental Acquaintances" we meet with thoughts which, however familiar, are expressed in an uncommon manner. Who that travels or goes from home to any locality where human beings are found does not regard with interest the development of character; nature, as seen in the cottage, among the Alleghanies, the western prairies or the Green Mountains? The more one has been accustomed to artificial refinements, the more welcome seem, at times, such revelations. So the botanist loves to-day plants in their primeval state, before culture has changed them. Intercourse with the world usually shows the greatest of men and women the most free from affectation; it is in the *halfway stations in life* that we generally find arrogance and pretension. "To number all the 'Accidental acquaintances of a lifetime,'" says Mrs. Hopper, "would require a volume; each worth remembering builds a spiritual monument in our affections, or inscribes upon memory's tablet what time can never efface. It is three years,* we think, since, among the women of the past, we met Mrs. Emma Willard, of educational renown. Old age still showed that wonderful power of intellect which distinguished her; but the grandeur of all was, that it was crowned with docility and gentleness—morally aristocratic traits, always found in the close of the lives of those who have been great and good." Those who loved the original of this sketch (and they are many), will love her who has delineated her thus faithfully and affectionately.

Among the contributions of Mrs. Lincoln Phelps to the paper are several upon the "Lives and Characters of Distinguished Women." First, of Emma Willard. This article appeared in May, 1871, when the writer was mourning the recent loss of a sister with whom her own life had been, in a measure, identified. It appears that, in a paper devoted to the cause of woman suffrage, surprise had been expressed that Mrs. Phelps should have used the name of Mrs. Willard in an appeal against their claim, asserting that she was with them in her opinions and wishes. This assertion is met by producing Mrs. Willard's own words, published in 1848 in the "Family Journal": "The subject of women's rights has of late occupied the public mind and press, and several persons have called on me to define my position, which I here do."

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* Mrs. Willard was, in 1869, eighty-two years of age; she died in April of the following year.

Then follows an argument to prove that the Socialists were wrong, "who would destroy the order of family government, in which the husband and father is the natural sovereign." Mrs. Willard then proceeds to say, that, from her views in respect to the rights of women to education, to the avails of their own labors, and to hold places of trust in educational institutions, in the distribution of public charities, in alms-houses, prisons and establishments for the insane, it might be supposed that she would advocate the equal right of her sex to a representation in the state or national governments. "But this," she says, "is not our place. We do not believe it to be the plan of God. * * * Let each sex, then, keep its own place. We find a diversion of duties founded in nature." In her published Letters and Journals in Europe, 1830–31, the author makes frequent remarks upon the woman movement then preached by Socialists in France, Robert Owen in Great Britain, and Fanny Wright in America: she says, "Their tenets are an unintelligible jargon; they talk foolishly of women's rights. When will mankind learn that *their part in the order of things is their duty;* the submitting to God's commandments?" Mrs. Phelps, in a brief sketch of the life of her sister, proves that no change ever took place in her views thus distinctly stated. That she lamented that some whom she loved had fallen into these errors, is the testimony of those who were with her to her last hours.

Professor Charles Davis, the life-long friend of Mrs. Willard, in an address before the New York State University in alluding to the claims of the women suffragists to her sympathy and approbation, thus remarks:

> "The advocates of the current opinions with respect to women's rights seem anxious to bring to their aid the lives and examples of all who have contributed largely to that great advancement in female education which has marked the present century; among these names that of Mrs. Emma Willard stands quite alone, and we are sorry to see her opinions and views referred to in support of doctrines contrary to the whole tenor of her teaching."

In April, 1873, there appears in "The True Woman" a short article, stating that among old letters returned by Dr. John Lord to Mrs. Phelps, after the completion of his biography of Mrs. Willard, was found one to her nephew, Wm. Lee, Esq., of Ohio, written so late as Feb. 7, 1869, from which the following extract was made:

> "You ask my opinion of *female suffrage*—by the way, there has recently appeared a volume entitled 'Eminent Women of the Age,' in which I am set down as the first of the pioneer educators; the women who have upheld female suffrage are there also. Now I have never been an advocate for female suffrage, neither has your aunt Phelps."

Mrs. Willard then proceeds to state what women should be prepared to do, and what men should apportion to them of a public nature, for charities, education, etc. This subject, in respect to Mrs. Willard's opinions, may now be considered as disposed of; in the words of Professor Davis, in the address referred to, "We trust that the bitter weeds of strife will not grow on such a grave, or shadow such a memory; and that her Christian character and brilliant life may be permitted to exert their benign influence without being drawn into controversies for which she had no taste while living, and which can add nothing to her fame."*

Lydia Huntley Sigourney is named among the true women in a contribution from Mrs. Phelps. In one of her latest, perhaps the last, of her publications, called "Selections," Mrs. Sigourney gives, with approval, the following extract from "Christian Households":

> "In this period of innovation and revolution, injudicious efforts are being made to break up the foundations of society, and to bring women forward in unwonted places and situations. Her true friends should advocate her advancement in all knowledge and wisdom, suitable to her

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* In her "Journal," written in France in 1831, Mrs. Willard says, "France has her great women as well as her great men," and refers as examples to her friends Madames Belloc and De Montgolfier. "If these noble women" (this was written in May, 1871, during that reign of terror) "had survived the horrors of the new revolution, now carried on by French *socialists*, how would they be astonished to learn that *American socialists* claim the name of Emma Willard as the synonym of the extremest radicalism!"—*Note from The True Woman.*

character and duties—should guard her rights of property and personal liberty, so far as may consist with the organization of society; man being divinely constituted the head of the family and the protector of woman." *

The beautiful, womanly life of Mrs. Sigourney was in harmony with her sentiments. In the introduction to her autobiography she says, "My literary course has been a happy one. It was begun in impulse and continued from habit. Two principles it has ever kept in view, not to interfere with the discharge of *womanly duty*, and to aim at being an instrument for good."

Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale has a high rank among distinguished women who have labored for the elevation of her sex, strong for the rights of woman, to be what the Creator designed her for. In her preface to "Records of Women," she says:

> "I am not about to controvert the authority of the husband, or the rights of men to make laws for the world they are to subdue and govern-I have no sympathy for those who are wrangling for 'Woman's Rights,' nor with those who are urging my sex to strive for equality and competition with men. * *"

In the sketch of Mrs. Hale before us, written by Mrs. Phelps, she remarks that "in a logical and convincing argument, the author of the 'Record of Woman' comes to the conclusion, drawn from the Bible, that when the first pair were driven out of Eden, the Almighty assigned their duties—man was ordained to become the worker, provider, protector, and law-giver; woman was to be the teacher or inspirer, and the exemplar." "But both sexes, we must admit," says Mrs. Phelps in this sketch, "have greatly failed in the fulfilment of their respective duties.

As our object is to elucidate the subject of "Woman's Duties and Rights," we shall not dwell upon the sketch of the author of "Woman's Record," as suggested by her own great work. We design to prove what are her opinions on the exciting question of the day in regard to the rights of women. None of the distinguished women whose names we have brought forward as given under the head of "Lives and Opinions," devoted much time or labor in directly controverting the suffrage doctrine. They found enough to do in their efforts to enlighten and improve their sex, and in strengthening them to bear the trials of life and to fulfil its duties. But they were ever firm in their convictions as to an appropriate sphere for their sex.

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* See Mrs. Sigourney's *Selections*, page 220.

Mrs. Hale still survives, and is as ready now to stand up for the truth and fitness of things as when she began her literary career. In December, 1872, we find in the "Lady's Book," of which she has long been the literary editor, the following address to her readers:

> "Before this number reaches you, I shall be in my eighty-fourth year. * * * I have long passed the ordinary limit of human life, and I am thankful to say I yet retain the desire and ability to work. * * I hope to spend the remnant of my long life in doing all I can with my pen in work which I hope will benefit my countrywomen."

A beautiful little poem, written by Mrs. Hale in her eighty-third year, called "My Desires," proves that her strong and vigorous mind is not weakened by age; that her powers of smooth versification are still under control; and, above all, that her strong Christian faith illumines the decline of this life, pointing to the rising of the sun of righteousness in the better life beyond. Mrs. Phelps, in her closing remarks, says: "A few weeks since, while on a visit to Philadelphia, this friend of forty years made me several visits; she came unattended; was bright and cheerful in her manners, interesting and instructive in conversation. Beautiful is age when found in the paths of righteousness! Truly, then is the hoary head a crown of glory!" Mrs. Somerville, at the age of eighty-nine, published her great work on molecular and microscopic science.

A sketch of Miss Pamela Cunningham, by Mrs. Phelps, in "The True Woman," deserves our notice, and since this distinguished woman has been assailed by "envy, hatred, and malice," it is but just to the cause of womanhood that she should be here named. To Miss Cunningham the country owes the preservation of the home and tomb of Washington from the hands of speculators and showmen. Mount Vernon is now held in the name of the women of the United States. It was purchased by the proceeds of many years of effort of Pamela Cunningham, who, an invalid, and upon her bed, wrote appeals to the women of the country. Associated with the history of her life will ever be the name of Edward Everett, who presented to the Mount Vernon Society, of which she was the head and founder, not merely his *sympathy*, but the sum of $80,000, the avails of his Washington lecture, delivered throughout many cities and towns of our country. That Miss Cunningham should be persecuted by enemies is but a sad comment on human life. Mrs. Phelps, in her sketch, gives the testimony of Mrs. Dr. Marks, by whom she was educated in her native state of South Carolina, that "among the many noble qualities of her pupil, she was particulary distinguished for *integrity in all business concerns; her honesty* and *justice were unimpeachable.*" "It is right," says Mrs. Phelps, "that we should feel a pride and admiration for this woman, who has accomplished so much, and that we should jealously protect her reputation from any assault of envy or malignity."

As an off-shoot from the unhealthy excitement which in this article we have condemned, there has now appeared the "liquor crusade." We may expect outbreaks from those who have been stimulated with false notions, and intoxicated with notoriety; those who have broken loose from home duties to luxuriate in unrestrained freedom, and to act according to the devices of their own hearts, with neither fear of man or of God before their eyes.

Let us hope our country is not to be given up to anarchy and confusion, but that the gross violation of womanly propriety and modesty, under the names of temperance and religion, will open the eyes of many well-meaning women to a sense of the danger of *too great freedom of thought and action.*

But let us go to the other side and meet the lion in his den. John Stuart Mill, in the British parliament, in May, 1867, made a speech in favor of woman suffrage. We find before us the stereotyped logic to which we have been familiarized at home, "The excluding of one-half the nation from political rights is an injustice!" Was the Creator unjust in making this half of the human race—women? "Can it be pretended," says Mr. Mill, "that women—who manage a property, or conduct a business, who pay rates and taxes, often to a large amount, many of whom are from respectable families, and many of whom, in the capacity of school mistresses, teach much more than a great majority of the males have ever learned—are not capable of a function of which every male householder is capable? Or is it to be supposed that if they were allowed to vote they would revolutionize the State, subvert any of our valuable institutions, or that we should have worse laws, or be in any respect worse governed by means of their suffrage?" The writer of this article for the "National Quarterly" acknowledges herself a woman (moreover, as she believes, almost the only woman who has been allowed a place in this "Review"). .She confesses to having been the sole head, for many years, of a literary institution supported and directed by herself, including a chaplain, with a large number of professors and lady teachers—more than one hundred, perhaps—with the requisite number of domestic attendants; the government was allowed to be judicious; there was a little jarring of the machinery, as could have been expected; perhaps she did as well in the situation as a man could have done—or as Queen Victoria herself manages her large empire. Indeed, Her Majesty's most loyal subject would not affirm that her judgment has anything to do with the government of the nation; this she leaves to her ministers and her "lords and gentlemen." Neither did she build up the British Empire; but we did found and establish ours, and we admire its government in our own way to the best of our ability. Now, according to Mr. Mill, we ought to be allowed to vote for political rulers. We might, in the elucidation of this subject, say that woman is happier to live shielded and protected; that there is, to her, a kind of martyrdom in a public situation. This has been understood by those who have passed through such an ordeal. We long to be a woman again—believed, not feared; protected, not commanding!

Division of labor is required in the manufacture of a pin—in social life there should be a division of duties and responsibilities. The women who clamor for political rights seem to forget that such would only add to their duties; nay, they would call them off from such as peculiarly belong to their sex. The woman's care is needed at home; the man goes to his farm, his store or his office; as he is more abroad, he learns more of political affairs; if he reads newspapers at home, and his wife is intelligent, he listens to her remarks, and may be influenced by her opinion; if both are to vote, and political controversy be added to other distorting laws, domestic life would be greatly embittered; but these answers are as hackneyed as are the arguments on the other side.

That Mr. Mill's suffrage bill was lost by 190 votes against the small minority of 73 in the House of Commons proves that his logic was not effective. Mrs. John Stuart Mill has written a pamphlet on the " Enfranchisement of Women;" it might seem that, with a husband so liberal-minded, she would be contented with her own lot.

From the different laws of Great Britain and the United States in respect to qualifications of voters, there may be arguments in favor of woman suffrage in the former country that would not apply here. That a single woman, an householder and tax-payer, should have a right to vote, seems but reasonable; no domestic discord would arise from political disagreement with a husband;—this would remove one objection;—but even in the British parliament the Woman's Rights bill was defeated, showing that this subject is repulsive under its best form.

We cannot better close our article than by giving an extract from Bishop Huntington's "Sermons for the People":

"The whole controversy" (Woman's Rights), "is a monstrous absurdity, an insane insurrection against good manners. * * * For the wrongs that remain in the position of woman, let her not, in the name of all that is lovely, and all that is wise, go to a separatist convention, nor to the platform, nor to novel schemes of political economy or social reorganization, but to that moral tribunal where she is sure to win her cause. Let her be content with the possession and exercise of power in all its higher forms."

ART. III.—1. *Experimental Experiments in Electricity.* Reported from the Philosophical Transactions. By MICHAEL FARADAY. London. 1853.

2. *Traitė de l'Électricitė Thėorique et Appliquėe.* Paris, 1857.

3. *L'Atmosphère.* Par CAMILLE FLAMMARION. Paris. 1873.

4. *Sur la Tempėrature du Pôle et des espaces Cėlestes.* Par M. ARAGO. 1834.

5. *Outlines of Astronomy.* By JOHN HERSCHEL. 1859.

THE main result of the great interest which meteorology has of late awakened has been the dissipation of the pernicious idea that its phenomena are capricious, and not amenable to law. This, together with the accumulation of minute and countless details, is the only advance achieved in this department of knowledge. As a deductive science, meteorology has made little or no progress. Conjecture after conjecture respecting the cause of particular facts has been propounded; some absurdly extravagant, others strikingly plausible. But no principle, or set of principles, has as yet been enunciated, purporting to co-ordinate the facts in the order of their coexistences and sequences. This being the case, any theory which essays such an attempt does, even though false, benefit science; for the arrangement which the attempted explanation necessarily involves does but facilitate subsequent insight into the relations and importance of the facts therein comprised. Sensible of this, we, with the less diffidence, advance the following speculations.

In or about the year 1760, Professor Black, of the University of Glasgow, succeeded in the discovery and colligation of a number of interesting facts respecting heat. He found that ice on becoming water, and water on becoming steam, absorb a large amount of heat, which neither the senses, nor the most delicate thermometer, can detect. This heat, in other words, becomes a hidden property, not cognizable by the senses. When, however, these processes are inverted, *i.e.*, when steam condenses into water, and when water congeals into ice, an amount of heat is restored to the world of sense equivalent to that which disappeared by the said absorption.

To detail all the facts respecting these phenomena would be a needless task, as every one conversant with the first principles of physics is thoroughly acquainted with a number amply sufficient for all the purposes of this treatise. Black, by way of explanation, propounded the theory that the heat which disappears becomes *latent*, and that the heat which, during the reverse processes, is returned to the world of sense, is but the reappearance of that which was before so inexplicably absorbed.

Now, this theory is, in reality, no explanation whatever. It is naught but an expression of the phenomena, and, apart from its recommendation of being a metaphysical generalization—rendered possible by the happy use of a felicitous term—is wholly destitute of value. It is, moreover, in direct conflict with approved canons of scientific investigation, as it precludes the possibility of crucial experiments and separations of nature. Even those by whom it is received accept it under protest, fully recognising the fact that, being unscientific, it is but a provisional hypothesis, destined soon to be replaced by another more amenable to true rules of research.

It is clearly apparent that a theory respecting latent heat, to be true and legitimate, must fulfil the following conditions: It must account, in some way, for the heat while it is in the state of abeyance, subsequent to its disappearance. If it is found, or conjectured, that the heat is then non-existent *as heat*, the theory must show its equivalent in some force into which it may have been resolved.

The following hypothesis answers these requirements. *The heat alleged to become latent, in the processes of melting and vaporization, is converted into electricity; and, the heat which becomes sensible, in the processes of congelation and condensation, is metamorphosed electricity.* This view of the phenomena is not only borne out by a multitude of circumstances, but is also deductively interpretative of many important ulterior facts hitherto deemed inexplicable.

That heat and electricity are interchangeable will not be questioned by any one acquainted with the phenomena of thermo-electricity. The fact that they are so convertible in the processes above mentioned can, we think, be conclusively proved. Of the general principle regulating the action of this property we confess we have but an adumbration. It is heat, or electricity, which, in passing from a medium more isochronous to a medium less isochronous, is converted into the other.

The following fact countenances the theory, that the heat absorbed by the melting of ice is converted into electricity. In temperate regions, lightning and thunder in winter are rare, still they are occasionally observable. When they occur they are deemed anomalous. These apparently unaccountable and capricious phenomena are invariably preceded by a wide and extensive thaw. On the hypothesis here presented, they cease to be a mystery. The electricity, of which they are the effect, is the result, or rather, the equivalent, of the vast amount of "latent" heat naturally consequent upon so general a melting of snow and ice.

As heat disappears, not only when ice is passing into water, but also when water is passing into steam, we should expect, *ex hypothesi*, the presence of electricity during ebullition. The facts verify the expectation. Electricity is present in every boiler in which steam is being generated. In such prodigious quantities is it produced by vaporization, that where it is concentrated and made signally manifest, as in Armstrong's hydro-electric machine, it yields sparks twenty-two inches long, in such quick succession that they resemble a sheet of flame. The mere friction of the minute particles of water against the sides of the orifice of the boiler is totally inadequate to the production of the effect. Our view is further borne out by the fact, that the specific heat of water is appreciably affected by the electrical conductibility of the material of which the boiler is formed. Water in a glass vessel requires a higher temperature for ebullition than in a metal one.

The proofs furnished by ebullition, being all presented under nearly the same conditions, are consequently wanting in the requisite certainty. The crucial test, however, of the validity of any theory, according to the logic of the physical sciences, is that every degree in the quantity of effect should correspond with the like degree in the quantity of the cause assigned. The phenomena of evaporation, by furnishing and standing this test, give proof of the theory here propounded akin to demonstration.

Evaporation is ever occurring throughout the world, greatly varying in amount with times and places; which variation is governed by the greater or less presence of its conditions, heat and water. Atmospheric electricity is likewise observable throughout the world, in a degree similarly varying with times and places. Now, if we show that this electricity invariably abounds wherever the conditions of evaporation obtain, it will be fair to conclude that, as the disappearance of heat in evaporation coincides so exactly with the appearance of electricity, the one is the other resolved.

It is an indisputable proposition that, given the presence of water, the warmer a region, the greater is the amount of evaporation. Atmospheric electricity is observed to obey the same law. While it is feeble in cold or temperate regions, in the torrid zone, where evaporation is proceeding at an enormous rate, it displays its presence with the utmost frequency, and to the greatest extent. Lightning and thunder storms, with their concomitants, there obtain, in all their violence, and in all their grandeur. They decrease, in frequency and intensity, towards either pole. At times, succeeding seasons of extraordinary heat, the atmosphere is so abundantly charged with electricity that it assumes the appearance known as St. Elmo's Fire, playing around hedges, the tops of masts, and the tips of the ears of horses. In cold regions, where there is little evaporation and, consequently, little heat becoming "latent," these electrical manifestations are absent. The Aurora Borealis may serve as a qualification of the remark, but not of the principle; for, as we shall see, the Aurora is the result of electricity generated at the tropics.

As the sun acts with different degrees of intensity through the day, there is a correspondingly varying amount of evaporation. The following facts are hence significant. At sunrise, the electricity in the atmosphere is feeble; it increases during the day; and, after sunset, decreases. Concurrent proof is furnished by the fact that thunder and lightning are more frequent after mid-day than in the morning.

In towns and cities, where there is little moisture, there is less electricity than in the country. In houses, streets, and under trees, *i. e.*, where either of the conditions of evaporation, heat or water, is wanting, no trace of electricity is found. In large open spaces, on rivers, on quays, and on bridges, where both conditions obtain, it is abundant.

The case of atmospheric electricity is a curious instance of how narrowly a physical principle may escape the most searching investigation. Such scientists as Volta, Becquerel, and Pouillet have contended that this electricity is, in some way, occasioned by evaporation. Now, here is the *absence* of one force (heat) unexplained; and, under the same circumstances, and in the same process, the *presence* of another force (electricity) likewise unexplained. These forces are confessedly mutually convertible: and, still, it escapes detection that the resolution of the one into the other would make the two mutually explanatory.

We have thus adduced proofs of the fact that the heat lost in melting and evaporation is identical with the electricity immediately presenting itself. It remains now to show that the heat given out in condensation and congelation is due to the conversion of electricity.

The phenomena attendant upon the distribution of heat throughout the globe give to the principle here enunciated the strongest countenance. The hot and rarefied air of the equator is displaced by the cold air from the direction of the poles, and forms currents setting, respectively, north and south. As either of these currents proceeds toward the pole, its heat is distributed and lost in latitudes of a lower temperature. Warming by this process, however, would naturally be restricted to a limited area, as the heat, thus conveyed, would be soon spent. Regions further removed from the equator are warmed by a different process.

The current of wind from the equator is saturated with vapor, which becomes condensed in high latitudes, and, in this way, gives out heat. This heat is caused by the electricity, which is absorbed from the atmosphere by the clouds when condensing. This vapor, according to the hypothesis generally received, carries latent heat from the tropics, which then becomes sensible, and is so diffused. The result, however, is really effected in another manner. The vapor carried north does not carry heat, but, rather, only the capacity for generating heat. In other words, the winds filled with vapor are factories, not storehouses of heat. The heat diffused is generated where it is given forth, by the absorption and metamorphosis of electricity.

This explanation is borne out by three strongly significant facts. 1. It has been found that the amount of rainfall at any particular place is, in the main, directly proportionate to the high average temperature of the locality. Now, it has been shown that the amount of electricity present in the atmosphere bears the same ratio to the same circumstance. If, then, the heat induced by condensation is proportioned to the amount of rainfall, the fact that rain is most prevalent where electricity most abounds, must add a large increment of proof to the other proofs here adduced.

2. Priestly has observed that, when an electric spark passes through moist air, its volume diminishes. As electricity thus induces condensation, and as condensation occasions heat, the alleged conversion may reasonably be presumed.

3. Fournet attests the frequent occurrence of mists formed of particles of liquid matter, suspended in an atmosphere whose temperature was 10° or even 15° C. below zero. This fact most conclusively shows that cold is not the sole cause of condensation. Neither, indeed, is it a condition *sine qua non.* Its agency, if agency therein it really have, may be completely superseded by that of electricity, if the latter be present in sufficient quantity. The lowering and rain-retentive clouds observable in cold weather, together with the singularly copious discharges of rain witnessed in the tropics, amply attest the truth of this deduction.

From all these facts we deduce the following convertible propositions. Given the presence of an adequate quantity of aqueous vapor, the amount of rainfall corresponds with the amount of electricity present in the atmosphere; and, given the presence of an adequate quantity of electricity, the amount of rainfall corresponds with the amount of aqueous vapor.

The supply of heat necessary to preserve the uniform average temperature of the Polar regions springs from the same cause, electricity; operating, however, somewhat differently. The electricity from the equatorial regions is attracted north and south, and is transformed into heat in the process of freezing. The faster water freezes, the faster is heat disengaged. Now, this heat, according to the hypothesis, must have been supplied by electricity. So, the Polar regions are indebted for the little heat they have to their snow and ice, and, primarily, to evaporation in the tropics. The tropics part with their surplus heat by converting it into electricity, through the medium of evaporation. The Arctic regions, to supply their deficiency, reconvert this electricity into heat, through the process of freezing. The presence of electricity is indispensable, alike in the process of condensation and in that of congelation. The open Polar sea, with its freedom from ice, with its remarkably low temperature, and with its great distance from the main source of electricity, the equator, all conjoined, is wholly inexplicable upon any hypothesis other than the one here presented.

Owing to absence of evaporation, and owing to the demand for electricity to be converted, by freezing, into heat, the Polar regions are in a negative condition. This negative condition, in conformity with the laws of electricity, naturally acts as an attraction to the superabundant force accumulated at the equator. The response thereto generates a current of electricity which streams north and south from all points of the tropics. If this be so, then a full qualitative and quantitative explanation is hereby afforded of the most interesting phenomena known to science, to wit, the direction, declination, and dip of the magnetic needle. This silent monitor, the instrument of so many discoveries, has hitherto jealously preserved the secret of its cause intact. The evaporation of a little drop of water, however, has, if we are not mistaken, unveiled the mystery.

Now, it will be manifest, by reference to the law governing the attraction of a needle by electrical currents, that if a needle is placed in the centre of four currents, all passing in the same direction—*i.e.*, one current above the needle, one to the right of it, one to the left of it, and one below it—the needle will take the same direction as the currents. For, according to Ampère's law, if the currents were all running north, the one above the needle would deflect it to the west; the one below, to the east; the one to the west would depress it; and the one to the east would raise it. Thus these effects would all so neutralize each other that the needle would thence be constrained to take a direction similar to that of the currents. Now, if we can show that these currents and influences obtain on the earth, we shall have explained the reason of the direction of the magnetic needle.

In the electricity streaming from the tropics to the poles, through the higher regions of the atmosphere, we have one of the currents required. This constitutes the upper current. We do not wish it to be understood that the sole source of this or the other currents is evaporation or melting. Another and concurrent source our theory will furnish as we advance. The current to the right, and the current to the left, are established in the following manner: Owing to the globular conformation of the earth, the flow of electricity immediately above the needle is, relatively to a needle on the left horizon, a current to the right; and to the needle on the right horizon, a current to the left; and so on, *mutatis mutandis.* This circumstance, though curious, is not the less real.

Now, we have three of the currents essential to the explanation essayed. The fourth, the current below, the hypothesis apparently fails to explain. This failure, however, as we shall see as we progress, is only apparent, not real. The existence of this current we will now assume, but afterwards prove when the originally contemplated arrangement of the argument will admit. Inductive proof of it, however, we can now adduce. It has been definitely ascertained by numberless experiments and observations, that there is such a current running north and south through the crust of the earth. The generally diffused knowledge of this fact renders unnecessary a minute detail of such observations and experiments. The latest reference to, and establishment of the fact, however, can be seen in an article in the Smithsonian Report for 1869, entitled "Electrical Currents of the Earth," by Carlo Matteucci.

Now, these currents assumed, the directive property of the needle is fully explained. That the direction of the magnetic needle is the resultant of the neutralizing influences of four similarly tending currents is evidenced by the fact that a bar of iron or steel, when placed in the plane of the magnetic meridian, acquires magnetic properties. On any other hypothesis, such as that the direction of the needle is due to the influence of one current flowing at right angles to the needle, along the equator, this phenomenon is wholly inexplicable.

A theory which assigns a cause for a phenomenon, and which furnishes all the conditions necessary to the result, may still be open to doubt, though, perhaps, entitled to the claim of being the most plausible preferred. If, however, it accounts for a multitude of widely different variations in the quantity of effect, it is then conclusively proved. It will be seen that the theory here advanced fulfils this requirement.

Now, it is clearly evident that if, from any cause, any one of the four currents alleged should preponderate in intensity over the others, the needle amenable thereto would experience a corresponding deflection, proportionate in extent to the degree of such preponderance. This law fully elucidates the problem of the variations of the magnetic needle.

The variations to which the needle is subject may be divided into six kinds, viz.: the secular, annual, and diurnal variation of the declination; and the secular, annual, and diurnal variation of the dip. The limits to which we are restricted preclude quantitative consideration of this subject. The more striking of the phenomena, however, we will advert to, postponing a full review of the details until some future occasion.

We have seen that the action of the sun, in inducing evaporation, occasions an increase in the production of electricity. This increase, by intensifying the upper current, must necessarily enhance the influence of such upper current over the needle; and the needle, in its consequent deflection, should coincide, in every particular, with the cause alleged. In other words, the upper current, as its intensity increases, should deflect the needle to the west, and, as its intensity abates, should allow of the needle's return. This, however, must only hold good in the northern hemisphere. In the southern hemisphere, as the currents there flow in the opposite direction, the deflection, in conformity with the increase in intensity of the upper current, must be to the east.

Now, the observations and experiments made are in the strictest accordance with these deductions. In the northern hemisphere, the diurnal variation of the needle is uniformly to the west. In the southern hemisphere, however, the diurnal variation is uniformly to the east. These generalizations are subject to no exception, saving the instance of the region of the equator, where, the north and south electrical currents being there diametrically divergent, we should expect such perturbations.

Noad, in his Lecture on Electricity, says that, " At Paris the needle is nearly stationary during the night. At sunrise, its north extremity moves westward, as if it were avoiding the solar influence. Towards noon, or more generally from noon to three o'clock, it attains its maximum westerly deviation, and then returns eastward until nine, ten, or eleven o'clock in the evening; and then, having reached its original position, it remains stationary during the night. This phenomenon is equally observable in London, and at every point where the needle's variations are made the subject of observation."

If the explanation here propounded be the true one, these variations should, owing to the difference in the amount of evaporation consequent upon the varying degrees of temperature, differ with the seasons, and also differ from day to day. Noad's further remarks attest this. He says: "The amount of this daily variation is from April to September, 13′ to 15′; and for the other six months of the year, from 8′ to 10′; on some days it rises to 25′, and, on others, it does not exceed 5′ to 6′." Gen. Sabine and other magneticians have detected a close correlation subsisting between the abnormal range of the needle and a high degree of temperature.

It was first suggested by Franklin, and has since been confirmed by a host of authorities, and by a multitude of observations, that the aurora borealis is occasioned by electrical discharges from the higher regions of the atmosphere to the earth. Aurora, then, imply a surcharge of the upper current. Such surcharge should entail a westerly deviation of the needle, at the time of the display, and during the day preceding; and, as the impetus of the discharge to the earth would naturally involve the passage, from one current to the other, of a larger amount than was necessary to restore the normal relative intensities, it should, after the auroral display, move the needle back somewhat to the east of its original position. This is the theory; now for the facts. Walker generalizes the results of Arago's observations in this manner: "In general, the west declination increases before the appearance of the aurora, and sometimes even continues to increase after its appearance; then the oscillations become very large, and the needle begins to return towards the *east*, and only stops when it has passed its normal position, which it does not usually regain for some hours." "Aurora," he continues, "may often be predicted by the abnormal variation towards the west during the day. * * * Whilst Arago was carrying on this series of observations at Paris, a similar series was in progress at Cason in Russia, 47° east of Paris, under the direction of Kupffer, who was supplied with one of Gambey's instruments, precisely similar to that employed by Arago. By a comparison of observations, these two observers found that, notwithstanding the difference in longitude, the perturbations were isochronous; as Humboldt observes, a truly remarkable circumstance."

At certain times and places, the melting of snow and ice is an equally efficient factor with evaporation, in the surcharging of the upper electrical current. To this cause we are inclined to attribute the steamship Atlantic disaster. The general thaw immediately preceding that calamity materially affected the variation of the needle, the abnormal influence of which was not adequately allowed for in the reckoning.

We come now to the most important portion of the theory.

The nearer we go to the sun, the greater, we should suppose, would be the intensity of the solar heat. The temperature, however, *decreases* as we rise to a greater height in the atmosphere. This fact, on the hypothesis that the solar heat is derived directly from the sun, is most puzzling. The diminution of temperature corresponding to a greater height is absolute; and is not merely relative to the medium's capacity of absorption. The diminution of temperature of even dense bodies observes the same ratio as that of the air. So on the theory of the solar heat at present received, the mere fact of the rarefaction of the air does not account for the phenomenon.

Side by side with this phenomenon stands the fact that electricity *increases* with the distance from the earth. "Becquerel and Breschet sent up arrows, attached to a tinsel cord ninety yards long, from the top of the great St. Bernard, while the other end was connected with the condenser of an electrometer; they found that the gold leaves diverged in proportion as the arrow rose higher." So abundant and constant is the available supply from this source, that arrangements are at present under contemplation to have this means of charging telegraph wires supersede the batteries.

Now, having in view our law of the mutual convertibility of electricity and heat, we infer from the two phenomena mentioned, that electricity changes into heat in proportion to the density of the air; that our solar light and heat are derived from a current of electricity emanating from the sun, which electricity traverses space and becomes converted into heat and light only when it enters our envelope, the atmosphere; that the sun does not radiate heat; and that no heat, as heat, ever leaves the sun.

This, we are aware, is a bold hypothesis to propound; but the number of facts countenancing it, and the many problems which it elucidates, amply justify its enunciation. Scientific data most curiously harmonize with the theory.

The current hypotheses of the physical constitution of the sun are, confessedly, all unsatisfactory; and are entertained on account solely of the absence of a theory covering the observed phenomena. They are all necessitated to exaggerate the heat of the sun to such an extravagant extent, that the most moderate of them is constrained to estimate his temperature at 300,000° F. The mathematical calculation, based upon them, give results which are in the grossest discordance with the plainest principles of physics; and the unphilosophical impression is gradually gaining ground, that the facts observed must be *sui generis*, and amenable to physical laws other than those which obtain upon the earth. That a body should give forth such enormous quantities of heat and light, that that portion intercepted by the earth is but the two thousand three hundred millionth part of the whole amount emitted, and yet not suffer any appreciable diminution in size or intensity, is well calculated to puzzle and perplex.

On the hypothesis here propounded—that there is a flow of electricity from the sun to the earth, a portion of which force is converted into heat and light on entering our atmosphere—all the extravagant calculations heretofore indulged in are avoided; and the temperature of the sun may, without militating against any fact, or contravening any law of nature, be made to approximate to that of the earth.

The main cause of the difficulties experienced in solving the problem of the physical constitution of the sun lies in the gratuitous assumption that the sun gives out rays of heat and light in all directions. If it can be established that the force emitted leaves the sun only in directions wherein it can be utilized, the immense saving consequent thereupon will be readily appreciated, and solar phenomena will gain incalculably in harmony.

Deduction and induction conjoined have led us to the conclusion that electricity is the sole bond of union between the sun and the planets. If this be so, in fact; if the only force which leaves the sun is electricity, then this electricity will take its departure therefrom in response only to the attraction of some body within the sphere of the sun's electrical attraction; and, therefore, it will pursue directions, and those only, wherein lie attracting bodies. The amount of such electricity discharged will be determined: 1. By the number of such attracting bodies. 2. By their distance. 3. The distance remaining the same by the degree of their electrical, negative condition; and, fourthly, by the extent of their surface. Thus the outcome being regulated by the demand, and not by the indiscriminating laws of radiation, an immense decrease in the heretofore estimated amount of force emitted hereby results;

and the quantity parted with by the sun is brought within the domain of conception, and of reasonable and moderate calculation.

A portion only of the amount of electricity received is converted into heat and light. The degeee of this portion depends, as we have before seen, upon the density of the atmosphere of the planet. The residue, in the case of the earth, goes to replenish the electrical currents to which the needle is responsive, sustain vegetable and animal life, and subserves meteorological, chemical, and other processes. We speak of light here, for, if our hypothetical cause holds good with respect to heat, it will also with respect to light, because "heat and light are different effects produced by one and the same cause, and they differ physically only in the rapidity and amplitude of their vibrations."

We see, now, that when the subject is rightly considered, there is not even a semblance of a necessity for prodigal expenditure of the sun's force by diffusion of space. Whatever force he emits is diffused just in proportion as it is needed, through electrical attraction, without the minutest particle of waste in the whole universe; and it arrives at its destination in all its integrity, without any diminution of its intensity; ever subserving some purpose in the sun, on the earth, among the other planets, or on some body revolving around a star situated beyond the range of aided vision. All of the bodies in the universe are centres of electricity, of greater or less importance. The solar system may be likened to an organism, of which the sun is the brain, the planets the ganglia, and the satellites, comets, and meteors the minor centres.

Numberless striking phenomena, both solar and meteorological, fully bear out our hypothesis.

As in ordinary air, the electric spark or "brush" is bluish white; in rarefied air, violet; and in nitrogen, a purplish blue; we should expect that the electricity streaming from the sun into the atmosphere of the earth would give a corresponding effect in color. Now, the fact is, and the striking significance of it is at once apparent, that the color of our sky is azure, a circumstance exactly conformable to the expectation.

In further confirmation of the theory of the identity of solar light with electricity is the fact that, when the electric spark is viewed through a prism, the spectrum obtained is, like the solar spectrum, full of dark lines. The electric light has, likewise, similar chemical properties to solar light. Further: Masson has found the same colors in the electric spectrum as in the solar spectrum.

According to the conceptions at present obtaining concerning the sun, we derive heat from the sun in the course of a few seconds, a conclusion which, though apparently necessitated by the seemingly patent fact, is, nevertheless, in outrageous defiance of all known laws of thermal transmission. Grant, in his "History of Physical Astronomy," says: "Unfortunately, our knowledge of the nature of both heat and light is so obscure, that every attempt hitherto made to form a hypothesis respecting the physical constitution of the sun appears to be beset with insuperable difficulties." Now, the theory of the conversion of electricity into heat and light, here presented, furnishes an explanation of the reception of heat, alike complete, and in the strictest conformity with known physical principles, and fully dispenses with the necessity of considering the solar supply a departure from the general laws of heat —the known velocity of electricity being greater than even that of light.

The spots on the sun, both the dark and the bright spots— —the *faculæ* and the maculæ—afford the most conclusive proof of the theory that the commerce subsisting between the sun and the earth is carried on solely through the medium of electricity. These spots may, in one sense, be said to have no objective reality. They are simply the effect of the increase and of the decrease, respectively, in the amount of the flow of electricity from the sun; said increase and decrease being occasioned by the varying electrical condition of the earth. When any region of the earth is charged with a more than ordinary quantity of electricity, there results a diminished attraction for the solar force, which lessens proportionately the sun's contribution to that quarter; and as our light is due to this contribution, the quarter of the sun wherein this lessened flow occurs must be necessarily marked by an apparent decrease in intensity of light. Solar *maculæ* appear to us to be spots, either because there is no outcome of electricity at those particular places on the sun, or because the outcome tends in a direction other than ours.

And so, *vice versa*, when the electrical condition of any quarter of the earth is below the average, an increase of the flow of electricity must result, and a consequent apparent brightening in that quarter of the sun's disc corresponding to the above-mentioned negative quarter of the earth. This causes the solar *faculæ*. The diminution in intensity of light, before mentioned, causes the solar *maculæ* or "spots."

We have before seen that a portion of the electricity contributed by the sun serves to replenish the currents to which the needle is subject. If, then, from any cause, such as an abnormally negative condition of the earth, a larger amount of electricity than usual were to be induced from the sun to the earth, such unusual and sudden accession would intensify those currents, and the needle should experience a marked disturbance. If this result does occur in fact, our interpretation of the cause of solar light will be fully sustained.

The following remarks of Balfour Stewart are in full confirmation of the deduction: "There is some reason to believe that our luminary was caught in the very act of causing a magnetic disturbance on our planet. On the 1st of September, 1858, two astronomers, Messrs. Carrington and Hodgson, were independently observing the sun's disc, which exhibited at that time a very bright spot, when about a quarter past eleven they noticed a very bright star of light break out over the spot and move with great velocity across the surface. On Mr. Carrington referring afterwards to Kew Observatory, at which place the position of the magnetic needle is recorded by photography, it was found that a magnetic disturbance had broken out at the very moment when this singular appearance had been observed."

If it be true that the dark spots on the sun are caused by a local decrease in the flow of electricity from the sun consequent upon an unusual amount of electricity accumulated at some particular regions of the earth, then we ought to find the solar maculæ so located as to correspond, in relative position, with those regions of the earth so abundantly charged.

Further, these spots should also coincide, in point of time, with the known periods of such abundant force; and, as aurora are occasioned by sudden accessions of electricity, their maxima of frequency and intensity, the maxima of solar spots, and the needle's maxima of disturbance, should disclose a correlation.

Now, it has been conclusively established by the combined observations of Messrs. Schwabe, Carrington and Sabine, that solar spots, aurora, and magnetic storms attain their maxima at the same periods. Noad says, "It is the opinion of magneticians that the sun is the agent which causes the disturbance. Prof. Schwabe, of Dessau, has now for nearly forty years been watching the disc of the sun, and recording the groups of spots which have been visible, and he finds that these have a period of maxima nearly every ten years, two of these periods being the years 1848—1859. Now, it was likewise found by General Sabine, that the aggregate value of magnetic disturbances at Toronto attained a maximum in 1848, nor was he slow to remark that this was also Schwabe's period of maximum sun spots. And it was afterwards found by observations made at Kew, that 1859 (another of Schwabe's years) was also a year of maximum magnetic disturbances. With respect to the bond which connects sun-spots with magnetic disturbances, no conjecture has been formed, but the coincidence, as Stewart observes, "is eminently suggestive, and brings us at once into the presence of some great cosmical bond different from gravitation, adding, at the same time, new interest and mystery to these phenomena."

We would remark, *en passant*, that the additional coincidence of the similarity of the laws of electricity and of gravitation opens up a wide vista of speculation. With respect to aurora, Walker remarks that they concur in the correlation above described.

The location of solar *maculæ* furnish strong evidence that these spots are naught but the effect of the positive condition of the earth. As electricity exists in the greatest abundance at the equator, owing to that region being the main point of electrical contact with the sun, and owing to the great amount of that force generated there by evaporation, we should expect that the spots would be most prevalent on the corresponding region of the sun's disc. Such is, in fact, the case. Grant says: "A remarkable circumstance connected with the solar spots is their constant appearance near the equator. Galileo remarked that their distance from the circle never exceeded 29°. Scheiner found by his own observations that they were all confined to a zone extending 30° on each side of the equator, which was termed by him, on this account, a royal zone. Subsequent astronomers have enlarged the region of the spots, so as to embrace a zone of about 35° north and south of the equator. Occasionally, indeed, spots are observed in the regions exterior to this zone. A large spot which appeared on the sun's disk in 1783 was found by Mechain to be distant about 41° 30′ from the solar equator."

We should expect that the sun would, in his northern and southern journeys, change somewhat the position of his spots. Thus, while at the equator, his *maculæ* should be distributed equally north and south of his own equator. At his southern solstice, however, having the equator—the earth's region of maximum electrical intensity—to the north, his path of sun-spots should show a consequent deflection to the north; and, *vice versa*, when he is at his northern solstice, having then the earth's region of maximum electrical intensity to his south, the path of sun-spots should slightly incline to the south. Now, the facts are in perfect agreement with this deduction; the sun mirroring the earth's positive regions in precisely the manner indicated, and following with his reflections every change in the position of the earth's equatorial belt, as faithfully as shadow follows substance; thus proving that the sun's equator, as represented by the *maculæ*, is but the reflection of the earth's positive region.

All the phenomena of solar spots are clearly explicable upon the theory of electricity here presented. Want of space, however, precludes our entering into the explanation of more than a few of them.

Grant says: "*Faculæ* are generally the precursors of spots which appear on the disc the following day. Messier was frequently enabled, by this circumstance, to predict the appearance of spots twenty-four hours before they actually presented themselves." This phenomenon, which every hypothesis heretofore propounded has signally failed to explain, may be easily accounted for. *Faculæ* indicate an increased flow of electricity from the sun; this increased flow enhances the positive condition of the earth; this enhanced condition of the earth lessens the attraction for the electricity of the sun: and the consequent decreased flow occasions the *maculæ*. *Maculæ*, however, often *precede* the appearance of *faculæ*. Convert the above explanation, according to the requirements of the theory, and a full solution is obtained. Thus *maculæ* indicate a decreased flow; the decreased flow occasions a negative condition of the earth; this negative condition enhances the attraction for the electricity of the sun; and the consequent increased flow occasions the *faculæ*.

Spots have been observed with the naked eye, of which, on the following day, not a trace could be found, even with the aid of a good telescope. The sudden appearance and disappearance of these spots are clearly accounted for by the abrupt and marked meteorological changes, so prevalent, and changing, as we have seen they do, the electro-magnetic condition of the regions of the earth wherein they occur.

The theory here advanced, explaining as it does, so many widely distinct phenomena, has, for its recommendation, that it is deduced from no new principle in physics, but from one as fully established as any within the realm of science, viz.: the mutual convertibility of heat and electricity, or the conservation of force. Further, the explanations which it furnishes do not solve the phenomena merely in gross, but give, degree for degree, the conditions under which such phenomena present themselves, and thus render their recurrence the subject of scientific prevision. The solutions are, in addition, in strict conformity with, and deductively corroborative of, the many isolated conjectures previously suggested by observation of the fact which the theory here systematically co-ordinates.

We have now adduced proofs fully showing that there is a flow of electricity from the sun to the earth, and that a portion of this electricity is converted into heat and light on entering the atmosphere. Numberless facts show, in addition, that a part of the electricity received penetrates the crust of the earth, and is there propagated from the equator, or point of reception, towards either pole. This constitutes the lower current which we before assumed. Some portion of the electricity thus transmitted from equator to pole is doubtless dissipated in the transit, by conversion into heat, by pressing through geological strata of varied, molecular composition. Earthquakes, volcanoes, and other manifestations of the intense interior heat of the globe, are readily explicable on this conjecture; obtaining, as they do, just where our theory places the regions of the under-current's maximum intensity.

We have seen that the direction of the magnetic needle is due to the neutralizing influences of this and the other currents; and that the variations are due to the preponderant intensity of one of these currents over its opposite. So, when the variation is to the east, the earth current is the stronger; and, when the variation is to the west, it is the upper, or atmospheric current which is dominant. The distribution of land and water, the seasons, and the composition of the geological strata, lend their influence in determining the unequal distribution of electricity.

The variations of the dip respond to the same general law; but, as their elucidation involves the consideration of so many concurring and conflicting meteorological and electrical laws, we have here refrained from presenting it.

It is fair to presume that the lower current is stronger on the land than in the earth below the ocean; and that the said lower current is the strongest in that meridian wherein the.

land allows of the free propagation of electricity by presenting a line unbroken by water, and running north and south. The atmosphere, or upper current, is stronger above the ocean than above the land, owing to the fact that evaporation, which is more abundant where water is, contributes to the upper current large quantities of electricity. If so, a line of no variation should exist mid-way between the regions where each of these regions has, respectively, the greatest influence; that is, where the influence of each neutralizes the influence of the other. In America, the western coast alone furnishes the requisite, unbroken line, and there, consequently, the lower current displays its maximum intensity, with its concomitant phenomenon, variation of the needle to the east. Now, the line of no variation cuts the east of South America, passes east of the West Indies, enters North America in Virginia, traverses the west of Hudson Bay, thence through the North Pole, thus indicating, *ex hypothesi*, the magnetic meridian whereat the upper and lower currents neutralize each other's influence. Full confirmation of the correctness of this deduction is furnished by the fact that the said agonic line, or line of no variation, describes a curve exactly corresponding, in inclination, to the trend of the western coast. That this is not a merely fanciful explanation, fortuitously supported by a striking coincidence, is conclusively attested by the fact that all the collateral phenomena answer, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the requirements of the hypothesis.

On the agonic line, there exists no secular variation, because there the needle obeys, impartially, the upper current, and the lower, or earth current, the two currents there being of precisely equal intensity. All places on the east of this line have the secular variation of the needle west. Being east of the line of no variation is not the *cause* of the westerly declination; it is merely a condition. The cause is, the ascendant influence of the upper current above the lower. All places on the west of this line have the variation of the needle east, by reason of their proximity to the western coast, the region where the earth current displays its maximum intensity. The farther a place lies, east or west, from the agonic line, the greater is the westerly or easterly declination.

The fullness of the explanation afforded by the hypothesis stands out in clear relief when the magnetic observations are traced, from coast to coast, on the same degree of latitude. A similar adequacy of explanation is observable when the observations are traced along the same meridian; the direction and degree of the variation in both cases being regulated by their proximity or distance from the western coast.

Were the western continent in the shape of a quadrangle, the secular variations would be vastly different. The earth current would then have the centre of the land for its region of maximum intensity; and, as a consequence, the needle would there display its greatest amplitude of easterly declination. In addition, there would be two lines of no variation, situated respectively between the centre of the land and the Pacific, and between the centre of the land and the Atlantic; for the reason that the upper current above either ocean and the earth current in the centre of the land would neutralize each other's influence in the places indicated. In fact, on the eastern continent, where the conditions approximate fulfilment, there is one unquestionable agonic line at the west of the continent, and at the east of the continent, in Asia, there is a clearly defined attempt at a second line of no variation; the apparent incompleteness of which may probably be due to the paucity of observations.

There are other and equally important corollaries of the theory, which, at some future time, we shall furnish. Chief among these are explanations of radiant heat; of the aurora borealis; of the causes of sudden local changes in the temperature; of the corona, and solar protuberances, "beads" and "threads;" of the twinkling, variability and disappearance of stars; of the zodiacal light; of cometary phenomena; and of the momentarily deferred occultation of stars by the moon.

ART. IV.—1. *The Works of Jonathan Swift.* With a Memoir. By THOMAS ROSCOE. London; Bohn.

2. *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dean Swift, etc.* By J. BOYLE (Lord Orrery).

3. *The Life of Jonathan Swift.* By SIR WALTER SCOTT.

4. *The English Humorists.* THACKERAY.

5. *Mémoire sur la vie et les œuvres politiques et religieuses de J. Swift.* PREVOST-PARADOL. Paris.

6. *Essai historique sur Swift et sur son influence, etc.* CRAUFURD. Paris.

WE are called upon to publish an article on Dean Swift, which, viewed in any light, must be regarded by every impartial mind, acquainted with the subject, as exceedingly harsh. We need not say that none criticise more freely than we do ourselves. But our "attacks" are on the living—on those who, from their positions and pretensions, ought to be able, if they are not, to defend themselves. We never assail the dead, merely because they were so far human as to have committed faults, perhaps grievous ones, in their day. Especially would we shrink from assailing those who, no matter how gravely they may have erred, were confessedly benefactors of mankind. That we have no particular admiration for the character of Swift, as a whole, is sufficiently manifest from the fact that while we have been in the habit, for a quarter of a century, of discussing the characteristics of the great thinkers of all countries, ancient and modern, in European as well as American periodicals, we have never to this day turned our attention to Swift for that purpose.

We have fully discussed the intellectual and moral characteristics of Dante and Tasso, Petrarch and Alfieri, Gœthe and Schiller, Molière and Heine, etc., without omitting in any case to devote more or less attention to the relations of those great geniuses to their beloved ones; for there was not one of them who did not possess such—not one who has not invested some of the fair daughters of Eve with imperishable renown. Judging from all the outward world has ever been permitted to know on the subject, there is not a single member of this brilliant galaxy who has not been quite as "heartless" and as "brutal" in his conduct toward woman as the "monster" Swift. But it is a fact at once singular and significant that the very men who are implacable in their hatred to the latter, are the most zealous vindicators even of those of the former, who, not content with jilting those who loved them, boastingly published their sad story to the world, thereby bringing scandal on hundreds of innocent people, apart from betraying woman's faith. In all these discussions we have preferred to draw a veil over those weaknesses which can be spoken of by the philosopher or the moralist only in the language of censure and condemnation; we felt that if, when a man is alive, it be base to enter the sanctuary of his private life for the purpose of scandalizing him to the world—stabbing his character assassin-like—still baser is it—still more unmanly—to continue to stab his dust in the grave. At all events, as we have said, we have never chosen Swift for discussion in our own journal, or in any other, but we confess that our chief reason for the omission was that in giving our estimate we might seem to be unduly partial to one who, although "merely born in Ireland" (he was also educated there),* did more for that country—that in which our humble selves also had the honor of being born, and in which we obtained whatever little education we may be said to have—than any other man, scarcely excepting Grattan, or even O'Connell.

Nor do we intend anything more now than to attempt to show, from the testimony of those who knew the great Dean best, and who studied him most, that, at least, there is good reason to doubt, viewing his case in its worst light, that he was the base, bad man—especially the heartless, diabolical enemy of womankind—which it is sometimes the fashion, among a certain class of minds, to represent him.

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* "Whatever was his birth," says Dr. Johnson, "his education was Irish. He was sent at the age of six to the school at Kilkenny, and in his fifteenth year (1682) was admitted into the University of Dublin." *Lives of the Poets.* Art. Swift.

First, however, we will allow our contributor to give his opinions freely, only asking the reader, before doing so, to bear in mind that nine-tenths of Swift's works are satires either on the great and powerful, or on those who pretended to be powerful, or great, without any just claim to be regarded as one or the other; in a word, it should be distinctly remembered that a bolder or more inflexible satirist, or one more overwhelming, or more unanswerable in his invective, never wielded a pen in prose or verse. When we recollect how utterly indifferent Swift himself was to the severest criticisms made upon him by his contemporaries, whether as an author or a man, we are all the more willing to present to our readers the following article, reserving for ourselves the privilege of making such remarks in reply as justice and fairness seem to demand even in behalf of the illustrious dead.

WE own we should like to be able to speak a good word for Swift; but we are afraid we must become one of the *posse-comitatus* and join in the hue and cry at his heels; for it must be confessed, after a careful reading of his life and works, that, notwithstanding his marvellous might of genius, among the prodigies of acerbity, arrogance and selfishness the world over, Dean Swift stands pre-eminent if not supreme. His acerbity corroded his own heart and cost him the good-will of his friends and fellows. His arrogance lost him place, party, position. His selfishness made victims of three weak women, who loving him, lost all that made life bearable, and losing him, sank into an early grave, or suffered in solitary agony the pangs of a jilted, nay, despised devotion. With his great genius we have here naught to do: great men are often great varlets, and it is feared that Swift, in his dealings with the weaker sex, at least in his scurvy treatment of those of them in whom he inspired sympathy or a tenderer passion, and who were helpless and dependent in very womanly faith and fondness, was one of these. There is no better testimony in behalf of the theory that the devil rivals the Deity in point of monstrous mental power, than this single instance of giant grasp of brain and pigmy sense of right and good; this cold, cruel trampling on the dearest sentiment known to the human heart.

It has been well said by Addison, that only heroes are worthy of the unfathomable love of woman. Alas! how often is it seen that the fairest of the fair throw themselves, a sweet self-sacrifice, at the foot of man, not only to meet with callousness, but to be scorned and scouted when their charms pall on the fancy, and cast contemptuously aside forever. It was thus that the famous Dean of St. Patrick would have treated all women, who, dazzled by the sunlight of his intellect, and won at his lordly will and imperious pleasure, stooped to place the rich treasures of their heart in his treacherous keeping. Three of Eve's fair daughters tried the honor of his nature. The result to them, their hopes and happiness, was not satisfactory; indeed, disastrous; and Swift died as he deserved, without a home, or sons or daughters to close his eyes, and left such a name and character behind for heartlessness toward those of the gentler sex as had given their love to him as few would choose to curse their memory with. In God's mercy this man had no children to bequeath such a sorry legacy to. He lives but in books.

The Swift of Scott and the Swift of Thackeray are so unlike, that no mind or pen can make of them the same. Scott found beauty where Thackeray saw deformity; the former admired, the latter revolted; one regarded the mind, the other the man. Both were in a measure right; but the chivalrous Sir Walter could not justify Swift's hard usage of women. Though awed at the magnitude of his mental gifts, Thackeray belittles Swift, so poor an opinion had he of his manhood, and even dreads the workings of his genius as one might those of the irresponsible forces of nature, which are liable without warning to wreak their physical fury in storm or earthquake. To him it partakes of the diabolical, and he is nervous and frightened at it, as he is made sick and disgusted at what he takes to be the maudlin, mawkish pretence to feeling he finds in Sterne. This is beneath Thackeray. Scott grappled with the granite block, cut it down to just proportions, and, carving it into a decent idol, fell down on his knees before it in very wonder of the work; while the frowning face of the man-made god so terrified Thackeray that he straightway flung stones at it and took incontinently to his heels. This is more seen in his "Esmond" than the "Humorists," as all general readers know.

Doctor Johnson's standard of Swift is probably nearest the truth, they being contemporary and not clashing, as Boswell says, although the sturdy lexicographer had no great respect for the subject of his biographical sketch. To it we turn for the outer incidents of the Dean's career. The key of his inner and secret life, which he kept hidden, must be sought for in his letters, journals and private papers here and there. The facts are difficult to ferret out, and there is a veil of mystery over all that perplexes the keenest scrutiny. What Swift's real reason was for his singular conduct to womankind, the reader may divine better than the writer, and as well as any one ever knew, except, perhaps, himself. As it stands, the case sums up black and dead against him. Will the world's harsh but not hasty judgment be reversed at the final bar? The parties have interpleaded, issue was long since joined, and only the musty records of the trial remain. It is an old story once again told.

Jonathan Swift, of English descent, though Irish by birth, the posthumous son of an attorney of the same name, was born at No. 7 Hoey's Court, in the city of Dublin, on St. Andrew's day, November 30th, 1667. When six years old he was sent to school at Kilkenny; at fourteen, admitted a pensioner in Trinity College, Dublin. His career at college was so irregular and insubordinate, and his application to the standard course of study so broken (he incurring over seventy penalties while there), that it was only by *special grace* he got his bachelor's degree, after which favor he was publicly suspended for insolence towards the junior Dean, and for inciting the students to rebellion. In 1688 he left Dublin, crossed over to England, and went to visit his mother in Leicestershire. Sir William Temple, secretary of state, whose wife was related to Mrs. Swift's family, gave his kinsman his patronage and the refuge of a home at Moor Park in Surrey, his ancestral seat, where Swift once had the honor of walking about the grounds in attendance on King William III., who taught him the Dutch method of cutting asparagus, and, no doubt, of eating it, too, and promised to make him a captain of cavalry, that he might see service in Flanders, and perhaps stop a French bullet. Swift, however, was bent on church preferment; and, in 1692, after a characteristic quarrel with his benefactor, set off for Oxford, and took his degree of master of arts. He obtained deacon's orders in October, 1694, at which time he wrote "The Tale of a Tub," and in old age said, in allusion to it, "Good God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book!" Got priest's orders in January, 1695, and soon after was made prebend of Kilroot, at £100 a year. Shortly, tiring of the monotony of this humdrum existence, he went back to Temple, who willingly forgave him his ingratitude, and he lived for four years at Moor Park, engaged in composition and study, till his kind friend's death, in January, 1698. He wrote "The Battle of the Books" during that period of comparative repose. Now, Swift was thrown again on the world and his wits, and took to writing satire for a living, Lord Berkeley being the fruitful theme thereof. To quiet him, he was given the rectory of Agher and the vicarages of Laracor (his subsequent home) and Rathbiggen. In 1700 the prebendary of Dunlavin was added to these, the whole being worth £400 per annum.

When Lords Somers, Oxford, Halifax, and Sunderland fell into political disgrace on account of the Partition Treaty, Swift, whose power of pen was well remembered by reason of the Berkeley satires, was persuaded by substantial arguments to write a pamphlet in behalf of the Whigs, which brought him out of obscurity. He ran often up to London, frequented the society of men of letters, bullied the wits of Burton's Coffee House, and formed a professional friendship for Dick Steele and Joseph Addison. Queen Anne now reigned in England, but the Spectator had not yet seen the light. Swift was a bold adventurer in those days. Indeed, Thackeray likens the Dean to a highwayman, and makes him reason thus: "These are my brains; with these I'll win titles and compete with fortune. These are my bullets; these I'll turn into gold," and take the road, too, like Macheath, or Turpin on the back of Pegasus, his Brown Bess. "Swift must be allowed," says Johnson, "for a time, to have dictated the political opinions of the English nation."

About 1711 he quitted London, in high dudgeon at missing promotion at the hands of the ministry, and resumed his retirement at Laracor. But a tardy, and, as he thought, inadequate reward was near. In April, 1713, as back pay for political services rendered to Harley and Bolingbroke when editor of the Examiner, in ridiculing Godolphin and the Whigs, against whom he had grown savagely bitter for a consideration, Swift received the prize of the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin. Between this epoch and the year 1725 he resided in Ireland, performing the functions of his sacred office (he and Roger, the clerk), writing much of note—pamphlets, satires, tales, poems, and letters; among them "The Conduct of the Allies," "The Drapier's Letters," pronounced by the best critics "the most perfect pieces of oratory since the days of Demosthenes," and comprising the famous "Gulliver's Travels," the greatest satire of all time. Sick of seclusion, in 1726 he was welcomed with open arms back to literary London by the political and polite world, and went to live at the house of the poet Pope. But, sad to say, Sir Robert Walpole snubbed him and his projects, for of course he had an axe or two of his own to grind; he always had. In tribute to his authorship, however, Swift was surfeited with lionizing while in England, an acknowledged leader of letters. In his "Journal to Stella" he writes: "I make no figure but at court, where I affect to turn from a lord to the meanest of my acquaintances." By long experience the snubbed had become a master of the polite art of snubbing. So the lion of Laracor went back to his lair only to leave it again for his deanery in Dublin, where he latterly lived.

Worn out with waiting for preferment that never came, eaten with remorse at the death of her he had at last slain by his curious system of marital continence, morose from sickness and despair, his massive brain a wreck, Dean Swift died on the 29th of October, 1745, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Such is a skeleton of his public career. What was his private life, and who were the gentle sacrifices on the altar of his selfish policy? They were three, Varina, Stella, and Vanessa, who are familiar to fame; and a fourth, a Leicestershire lass, whose name does not survive.

"Swift," says Howitt, "played with women as cats do with mice." "It is probably to a habit at first indulged only from vanity or for the sake of amusement," writes Scott, "that we are to trace the well-known circumstances which embittered his life and impaired his reputation." "As is the case with madmen," says Thackeray, "certain subjects provoke him and awaken his fits of wrath. Marriage is one of these; in a hundred passages in his writings he rages against it; rages against children—an object of constant satire, even more contemptible in his eyes than a lord's chaplain, is a poor curate with a large family. The idea of this luckless paternity never fails to bring down from him gibes and foul language." "You must have smiled," writes Lord Orrery, "to have found his house a constant seraglio of very virtuous women, who attended him from morning to night."

The earliest known flirtation of this intellectual Lothario occurred in the flush of youth, when Swift was paying a visit to his widowed mother, then living in humble circumstances (her worthy husband not having means enough to defray the cost of his funeral) at Leicester. There he encountered "a pretty young thing," and set such lusty siege to her heart that his poor mother grew alarmed for them both, and expostulated with her supposed unsophisticated son upon the danger and folly of hasty marriage. Swift, however, burst out laughing, and sardonically said, "Mother, my flirtations are only opportunities of amusement, a sort of insignificant gallantry, and a habit of levity to be laid aside whenever I make sober resolutions, and which, should I enter the Church, I shall not find it hard to lay down at the porch." Heartless language, indeed, for a clerical novitiate or any man of honor. This preliminary skirmish ended in smoke for Swift, and fire and flame for the poor, trusting girl. It was merely an affair of outposts before the battle, a fencing with a blunted foil ere taking up the more deadly rapier.

The first earnest engagement took place some years later, when Swift was turned of twenty, and had finished his collegiate course. The lady in this instance, however artless, was not a lowly rustic beauty. The graduate flew at higher game now than a mere queen of May. Miss Jane Warying was the sister of an old school and college chum, whom the designing Corydon pastorally dubbed Varina in his classical verses, and a fair young daughter of Erin's Isle, where Swift was become a spiritual adviser. This courtship, if it were not an abuse of the innocent epithet to call it so, ran over a period of four or five years, with the usual quantum and accompaniment of sighs, tears, and professions of deep, undying devotion, to all of which the blushing damsel responded coyly. In a love-letter to her, Swift says, "Impatience is the most inseparable quality of a lover." At length, in a fit of jealous impatience, Swift plumply proposed for the coveted hand. The citadel instantly capitulated. "He seemed," says Scott, "to have been a little startled by her sudden offer of surrender." The capture was complete, horse, foot, and dragoons. Swift's tone changed at once. He fell to accusing the trembling, astonished Miss Warying of lukewarmness and want of feeling; drew a dismal picture of his own poverty; yet added, that small as was his fortune, hers was still more pitiful; and coolly asked if the doctors had gotten over their former scruples about her health. Upon the removal of any lingering doubt as to the earnestness of the passion with which he had contrived to inspire the object of his blandishments (he had been only too successful, as he found to his terror), he agreed as follows: that if she would engage to marry his frugal household, on rather less than three hundred a year, to endeavor to improve her neglected mind under his cultured discipline, always to exhibit good humor, and even delight, at his approach, and in his superior presence, and to make it unmistakably manifest that she preferred his person to the vainer allurements of courts and cities, *then*, and then only, could he consent to make a being so devoid of beauty, wit, and wealth his wife. "I shall be blessed," he adds, with a burst of superb candor, "to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be comely or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first and competence in the second are all I ask for." No more insolent or offensive address than this can be imagined. What hypocrisy! No woman with a spark of feminine instinct in her bosom could cling for a moment more to so contemptible a wretch as that revelation made him out to be, and Swift and the tearful but lucky Varina parted forever.

At the time Swift, a chafing dependent, walked about the grounds of Moore Park at the tail of William the Third, learning from royal wisdom that asparagus should be cut with a short, round stroke, and not in a sweeping one, lest damage be done the sprouting tops alongside, and choked by the bread of Sir William Temple's charity, a little girl of rare loveliness lived in the ancient manse. This child was held out to be the orphan daughter of Sir William's steward, but Dame Rumor, with ready tongue, whispered that she was of nobler paternity, namely, the natural offspring of Sir William himself. She was reared in the Temple family, with every tenderness, as one of its members, and as she grew in stature, years and ripeness, passed under her friend the Irish student's tutilage. The result of so intimate a relation between an ungovernable nature like Swift's and a yielding, susceptible spirit such as this petted child-woman possessed, was inevitable. An irrepressible passion sprang up in the tutor's breast. It was thoroughly reciprocated. Swift and Hester Johnson, Sir William's ward, plighted their solemn troth under the emerald boughs; *one* never swerved from that vow in life. When Temple died, this man and maid were engaged as truly as any couple ever were, and the lady at least anticipated an immediate and prosperous union. She was mistaken. "Gentle lady!" writes Thackeray, with exquisite pathos, "so lovely, so loving, so unhappy. We know your legend by heart. You are one of the saints of English story." Swift christened her, with classical elegance and aptness, Stella, a star; and she loved the name well, for *he* gave it her, and always called her by it. Oh, what love could that burly, blue-eyed, dark visaged scholar inspire!

So infatuated was Stella with the brilliant Swift, that, no sooner was Temple dead and her darling lover settled in his living at Laracor, than she allowed herself to be cajoled into a trip to Ireland by his fervid, faithless professions and appeals. And such letters as that saint could write to women when he chose! Chaperoned by Mistress Dingley, a matronly companion, this silly child took the voyage across St. George's Channel, made the village of Trim, on the green banks of the Boyne, near her heaven of Laracor, her home; and threw herself, that priceless jewel, upon the honor and pity of her betrothed, a stranger to either attribute, and quite destitute of mercy or manhood as well. This Saxon sultan, in a cassock and bands, toyed with his slave, teased it to distraction with his moods, and kept it by him as a pet and plaything to while away the tedium of his leisure. His ascendency over Hester was such that she spurned the advances of suitor after suitor, and the chance of a child-blessed hearth, till they had both grown gray together, for the sake of one who hated the very thought of matrimony with a loathing unaccountable. Yet Swift seems to have loved Miss Johnson, his Stella, with all the love he had in him, to have constantly dreamed of her when absent, to have written her the warmest little letters in the world, and to have mourned her when she was lost and gone as great hearts mourn—this man of mammoth head and tiny heart.

On December 14th, 1710, he writes to her from London: "Stay, I will answer some of your letters this morning in bed. Let me see—come and appear, little letter! Here I am, says he, and what say you to Stella this morning, fresh and fasting? and can Stella read this writing without hurting her dear eyes?" His journal to Stella through those sunny years of hope is a model of kindly confidence. His inmost soul is laid bare to her—his, that of the greatest genius in all English letters, excepting perhaps Samuel Johnson. We once heard an excellent lady say of Swift, with feeling, "No wonder that women loved him," and yet she had never seen him. Oh, what an anomaly was Jonathan Swift! What subtle, potent spells had he at command! "Dr. Swift," writes Lord Orrery, "had a natural severity of face, which even his smiles could never soften, or his utmost gaiety render placid and serene; but when that sternness of visage was increased by rage, it is scarce possible to imagine looks or features that carried in them more terror and austerity." When a man is given the genius of a god, is it strange that there are some who will bow down to him as a demi-god?

Swift describes Stella thus: "About the age of fifteen she grew into perfect health and * * * was one of the most beautiful, graceful and agreeable young women in London—only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. * * * Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind." Then he wrote out some "Bon mots de Stella," among them: "When she was extremely ill, her physician said: 'Madam, you are near the bottom of the hill, but we will endeavor to get you up again.' She answered: 'Doctor, I fear I shall be out of breath before I get to the top,'" which may be taken as a fair specimen of her wit, and not so sharp as the Dean's own, who construed *aurum potabile* as *gold biles the pot.*

In 1710, when Swift crossed over to London to see the queen, and try for a place in her gift, he left his charming Stella, with vows of eternal constancy, in charge of Mrs. Dingley, at her cottage in Trim, brooding over his reverence's curious repugnance to matrimony, but solaced with the assurance of his faithful affection and speedy return. The amorous prebend took up his residence in lodgings in Bury street, St. James', where he hired the first floor at eight shillings a week. We hear of his visits at the house of a neighbor five doors off, Mrs. Vanhomrigh, the widow of a Dutch merchant, and of his going thither to dine. Then of his aleing and dining there for a week. He writes in his journal to Stella: "I am so hot and lazy, after my morning's walk, that I loitered at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's, where my best gown and periwig are, and out of mere listlessness dine there very often; so I did to-day." Had the fastidious doctor succumbed to claims of pity for the loneliness of a middle-aged widow? Was Princess Stella dethroned for so mature and discreet a divinity? The Dutch merchant's relict had a bewitching daughter, Esther. Says Lord Orrery, describing her: "She was fond of dress; impatient to be admired; very romantic in her turn of mind; superior, in her own opinion, to all her sex; full of pertness, gaiety and pride; but not without some agreeable accomplishments." Not a very admirable character. Soon, however, she was re-baptized by holy authority, and became famous for all time as the unfortunate Vanessa, a name that sounds as if it had been borrowed from the Spectator, which was started about that time, but was probably a happy combination of the first syllable of her surname, Van, and her Christian name, Esther, *Vanessa*. The doctor again assumed the sighing swain, and dubbed himself Cadenus, as an actor would don a suit of theatrical clothes for the play. How those thick knees of his must have begun to ache with tumultuous goings down upon them! But the seductive tongue never faltered, and all to allure a pretty, loving maid on to the doom of Tantalus. For shame!

Swift's mien towards Miss Vanhomrigh was that of an enthralled lover. He visited familiarly at the maternal home in Bury street, dropped in to tea of an evening, escorted the lady in her walks, and was presently acknowledged by the friends and family of the late merchant's widow as smiling Esther's accepted suitor, and all went merry as a marriage bell. At the critical stage, as in the case of Varina, the mask fell. Romeo, who but now was "sighing like a furnace," with instant rebound became icy, silent, reserved. The expert swimmer had dived for the pearly, priceless chalice, and as his practised hand bore it above the waves in triumph, dashed it madly from him far down into the bosom of the deep in marked disdain. Shocked, affronted, her vanity piqued, Vanessa, who was in fact a bit of a virago, came to plain terms herself, and demanded an explanation. Swift trembled. "The fox," said Howitt, "was taken in his wiles." He tried his former policy of procrastination, which succeeded so well with Stella, but Vanessa was made of sterner stuff. She had metal; so she stormed like a fury, threatened his fickle reverence with exposure, and when he fell as usual to shuffling and prevarication, bade him, if he was a man, to stand by his word. Swift had caught a tartar. In fact, she frightened the Dean so, that he fairly ran off to Ireland. This step only made matters worse. Vanessa had an estate there, and took the next packet after her reverend runaway to Dublin. The doctor was now in as pretty a fix as his scurvy system of cross-purposes merited: he saw to his horror that two could play at his own game. Miss Vanhomrigh had no Mrs. Dingley at her elbow to keep her quiet and save the Dean's reputation, and claim him and own him. She meant to do so if it cost her her life. "This woman," cried Swift, "has got me in a *quick-set hedge*." She pestered him with letters, dogged his footsteps, constrained him to interviews, and, indeed, succeeded in keeping the convalescent swain as miserable as possible. What an admirable, accomplished Nemesis, and how glad the honest reader is of it all!

Soon the patient Stella heard of these doings in her little cottage at Trim. It threw her upon a sick bed, and she lay low for so long that Swift, who loved her with all the love he had to give, to save her very life, privately married Hester Johnson, that sweet, fragile blossom of the Temple vine; but upon the sole condition *that he was never to see her but in the presence of a third person.* Thus, the pertinacious Vanessa had actually driven the Dean into wedlock with her rival in order to be rid of woman's allurements altogether. "The claims of Stella," writes Scott, "were preferable in point of date, to a man of honor and good faith." After his marriage, Swift, with craven hypocrisy, resumed his love-making to Vanessa—with what object? To induce her to marry somebody else. He thought Dr. Price would do; a most worthy man. But the wary woman declined an introduction. Sick at last of the Dean's suspected subterfuge, she withdrew to Marley Abbey, her estate near Coleridge, and led the life of a cloister, going seldom abroad and shunning society save when Swift favored her with his rapturous presence. Vanessa was a fine writer and her letters to Swift are extremely touching. "You bid me be easy," she says, "and you would see me as often as you could. You had better have said, as often as you remember there was such a one in the world. If you continue to treat me as you do, you will not be made uneasy by me long. I am sure I could have borne the rack much better than those killing, killing words of yours. Sometimes I have resolved to die without seeing you more. I beg you would see me and speak kindly to me. I cannot help telling you this and live." A rumor came of the dean's marriage. She writes to sound him. "If you are very happy, it is ill-natured of you not to tell me so, except 'tis what is inconsistent with mine." For eight years she had waited on him; now came the crisis. She wrote to Stella and plainly asked her whether she was the Dean's wife or no. Stella answered without equivocation that she was. A few days after, Swift was seen riding up the avenue of Marley Abbey on horseback. Advancing across the lawn with a fierce, rapid tread, he broke abruptly into the room where Miss Vanhomrigh was sitting, and, with a scowl black as midnight, flung a paper on the floor and stalked out without once deigning to open his livid lips. The letter he had left at her feet was no other than her own communication to her rival, who had reproachfully sent it to Swift.

Esther Vanhomrigh staggered under this last shock. For many anxious years she had fought the unequal battle, only to sink at last defeated. Poor lady! it seems she is more to be pitied than the other; she suffered so much and gained so little, not even the empty name of wife. The unveiling of Swift's villainy was Vanessa's doom. "It was her death-warrant," writes Scott. In a few weeks the ill-fated lady was laid in the grave, a sacrifice to this mysterious monster's consummate selfishness. What a fate for the gay London belle! What infamy for her false Cadenus! A little bit of womanly revenge rejoiced her soul before she went, however. She had time to revoke a will she had made, leaving the whole of her handsome property to Swift, and ordered the publication of the entire correspondence between the district Dean and herself. Swift wrote a beautiful letter about her, and Mrs. Stella Swift, when she heard of it, said: "The Dean could write beautifully about a broomstick." "A woman—a true woman!" laughs Thackeray. The lamps are out, the corse is buried, but the wraith will not down to this day.

Swift never acknowledged his marriage with Stella during her life. The strange conditions he had imposed upon their intercourse were scrupulously observed for upwards of a quarter of a century, and never broken. When Hester Johnson lay dying in her forty-sixth year, she gently upbraided her husband with having kept unnecessarily secret the fact that they were man and wife. Wrung with remorse, Swift is reported by Mrs. Whiteway to have replied, with a burning gush of unavailing tears, "Well, my dear, if you wish it, it shall be owned." The dying Stella simply said, "It is too late." This dear lady's death occurred on January 27, 1728. "Properly speaking," Swift writes in his journal, no longer to Stella, "she has been dying six months." He mourned for her with all the might of his sincere, solitary heart—his grief was a soul sorrow; but better have made her the wife of his home and the glad mother of his babes, than doom her to a dreary waste of life, and sing sweet sonnets to deaf, dead ears, when she is gone. Thackeray, in his inimitable way, tells a sad story of a little packet, containing a curl of Stella's raven hair, found hidden in the Dean's desk after his decease, upon which were written, in his own hand, the words, "Only a woman's hair!" and confesses that he never read four words more pathetic or significant. Surely, it is but a lame token of regret, that first word *only*, coming from Swift, and written of poor Stella who lived and died wholly for his sake. Well, side by side they lie in the churchyard of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; the inscription on the Dean's headstone in Latin, by himself, and that of Stella, in homely Saxon English. Through the ages will their names go down together.

The true cause of Dean Swift's unnatural treatment of every woman who listened to his siren solicitations, his repugnance to marriage and extraordinary abnegation thereafter, can only be conjectured. A singular statement is made by Delany of his chancing to intrude upon a private conversation between King, the prelate, and Swift, and finding the former in tears. The Dean, in a paroxysm of agitation rushed from the room, when the Archbishop said to Delany, his voice broken with sobs, "You have just met the most unhappy man on earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness you must never ask a question." "The history of his conduct with regard to every woman to whom he paid particular court," writes Howitt, "is the most wonderful thing in all literary research." Greatness and goodness are not synonymous substantives. Alas! genius is not always immaculate on earth.

We entirely acquit our contributor of all intention of unjustly vilifying the memory of Swift. He has merely made the mistake of selecting for his authorities men who, for various reasons, could have no love for the author of Gulliver's Travels, and the Drapier's Letters, had he been the best friend of woman, and the most earnest advocate of the blessings of matrimony that ever lived. Did we believe that Swift's treatment of woman was really anything like what it is represented by those from whose representations our contributor has derived his impressions, we certainly would be one of the last to attempt his vindication.

But what those writers themselves are obliged to admit, and part of which is reproduced in the above article, is altogether incompatible with his being the heartless, base man, in his relations with the fair sex, that he is represented. Of all the great thinkers of his time there was not one who included among his friends a larger number of the most refined and virtuous ladies; and it cannot be denied that many ladies of this class—ladies distinguished for their high rank as well as for their talents and accomplishments, and above all, for their noble womanly qualities—never ceased to regard him with esteem and admiration.

And what are we to learn from the ladies whom he is said to have treated so brutally? Is there anything in human nature, or in the nature of woman, with all her well-known disinterestedness, generosity and devotion, which justifies the belief that they would have clung to him through life in all the vicissitudes through which he and they were destined to pass, had he been the heartless, cruel monster which some love to represent him?

But a good deal can be learned by comparing the defenders and the traducers of Swift with each other—especially those among his contemporaries. In investigating this branch of the subject, two remarkable facts will present themselves; one is, that the greatest thinkers were his friends and defenders, the other—that on his side were also arrayed the truest and most chivalrous friends of woman. It will be found, upon the other hand, that his traducers, with scarcely an exception, were men of comparatively small calibre, mere story-tellers or poetasters, whose productions die a natural death as soon as themselves, if indeed they do not survive whatever little fame they acquired. If to these we add a certain class of politicians called statesmen by courtesy, who are the natural enemies of all who denounce oppression, especially when it happens to be particularly profitable to the oppressor,* we shall find that the three latter classes are precisely those whom Swift constantly made the finger of scorn point at. They it was whom he has everywhere ridiculed, and mercilessly overwhelmed with shame and mortification.†

Nor shall we find the respective characteristics of the vindicators and vilifiers of Swift, in recent times, very different, if we are sufficiently careful and discriminating in our researches. And what is still more to the point in the present case, we shall generally find that it is those who have treated their own women worst—those who have evinced no great respect or regard for their mothers or sisters more than for their wives—

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* "The Dean of St. Patrick's," says Johnson, "lived in a private manner, known and regarded only by his friends, till about the year 1720, he, by a pamphlet, recommended to the Irish the use, and consequently the improvement of their manufacture. For a man to use the productions of his own labor is surely a natural right, and to like best what he makes himself is a natural passion. But to excite this passion and enforce this right appeared *so criminal to those who had an interest in the English trade, that the printer was imprisoned.*"—Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets.*

† "In a short poem on the Presbyterians," says Johnson, "whom he always regarded with detestation, he bestowed one structure on Bettesworth, a lawyer eminent for his insolence to the clergy, which from very considerable reputation, brought him into immediate and universal contempt. Bettesworth, enraged at his disgrace and loss, went to Swift and demanded whether he was the author of that poem. 'Mr. Bettesworth,' answered he, 'I was in my youth acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me, that if any scoundrel or blockhead, whom I had lampooned should ask, "Are you the author of this paper?" I should tell him that I was not the author; therefore, I tell you, Mr. Bettesworth, that I am not the author of these lines.'"* When Bettesworth made this visit to Swift he was Sergeant at Law, and next for promotion to the bench for his obsequiousness to the paternal governors of Ireland. Accordingly he announced himself very pompously as "Sergeant Bettesworth." "Of what regiment, pray?" asked the Dean, although, of course, knowing quite well the sort of sergeant his visitor was.

* *Lives of Poets.* Art. Swift.

that are most ready to pour forth the vials of their virtuous and chivalric wrath on Swift for his "heartless cruelty," his "brutality," etc. We presume it is almost needless to say that we do not include the author of the article in the preceding pages in this category; at all events we would not be understood to do anything of the kind.

If we had only time to give the briefest explanatory analysis of the principal tribes and personages portrayed with such inimitable power in Gulliver's Travels, we could show that there is ample reason why Swift should be regarded by a large number of persons, especially a certain class of authors, as a wretch never to be forgiven in this world or the next. And be it remembered, that the Lilliputians, the Yahoos, the Honyhuhums, etc., were by no means confined to the reign of Queen Anne; nor are those interesting races entirely extinct at the present day. It was sufficiently provoking to have the characteristics of each made familiar to all who read the English language, but there is no language that has as much as the name of a literature into which the famous Travels of Gulliver have not been translated again and again; and in which the principal characters have not become as familiar as household words.

But still more unpardonable, if possible, were the Drapier's Letters to another class. Accordingly a large reward was offered by the British Government for the discovery of the "rebel" author when they were first published.* Most of our readers are aware that their object was to put the already too much impoverished, unfortunate Irish people on their guard against a depreciated, almost worthless copper, or rather, *brass* currency, which a person named Wood was allowed to circulate in Ireland for a certain percentage. That is, Swift (although we are always carefully informed by a certain class of writers that he was merely born in Ireland, not an Irishman or anything of the kind,) was determined that if it was possible for him to prevent it, the bargain of Wood with the government by which he was empowered to rob the Irish under pretence of accommodating them with a copper currency, should not be consummated. The wonderful skill and power with which this outrage was exposed by Swift, caused the entire failure of it as a speculation. Even so brief an extract as two or three sentences from one of these famous Letters will go far to justify the estimate of Hawkins Brown, who declared them the "most perfect pieces oratory ever composed since the time of Demosthenes" :—*

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* "The nation was alarmed," says Dr. Johnson. "The new coin was universally refused; but the governors of Ireland considered resistance to the King's patent as highly criminal; and one Whitshed, the Chief Justice who had tried the printer of the former pamphlet, and *sent out the jury nine times*, till by clamor and menaces they were frightened into a special verdict, now presented the *Draper* (Swift), *but could not prevail on the Grand Jury to find the bill.* Lord Carteret and the Privy Council published a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds for discovering the author of the Fourth Letter. Swift had concealed himself from his printers, and trusted only his butler, who transcribed

> "I am very sensible, says Swift, speaking in his assumed character, "that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen; but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All my assistance were some informations from an eminent person whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few by endeavoring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage. I was in the case of David, who could not move in the armour of Saul; and, therefore, chose to attack the uncircumcised Philistine (Wood, I mean) with a sling and a stone. And I may say for Wood's honor, as well as my own, that he resembled Goliah in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose; for Goliah had a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was 5,000 shekels of brass, and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders. In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over brass, and he defied the armies of the living God.

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the paper. The man immediately after the publication of the proclamation, strolled from the house, and staid out all night and part of the next day. There was reason enough to fear that he had betrayed his master; but he came home, and the Dean ordered him to put off his livery and leave the house; 'for,' says he, 'I know that my life is in your power, and I will not bear, out of fear, either your insolence or negligence.' "—Johnson's *Lives of the Poets.* Art. Swift.

* See Roscoe's *Life of Swift*, p. 65.

Goliah's conditions of combat were likewise the same as those of Wood; if he prevail against us, *then shall we be his servants;* but if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he shall never be a servant of mine, for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop."

We have indicated, in general terms, the class of thinkers who have ever been the friends of Swift, as well as the class who have ever been his enemies; we now proceed to give some particulars. To begin with Addison, that admirable writer has described Swift as "the most agreeable companion, the truest friend, and the greatest genius of his age."* There were but few who knew Swift more intimately than Addison, for although Sir Richard Steele was the founder of the Spectator, the one who originally suggested the publication, and gave an outline of its plan and scope, was Swift. As for Pope, he considered the author of Gulliver's Travels the greatest genius of the age, and he evinces his affection and admiration for him in a thousand forms. We need only quote the well-known lines:

"Oh thou! whatever title please thine ear,
Dean, Draper, Brickerstaff, or Gulliver!
Whether thou choose Cervantes' serious air,
Or laugh or shake in Rabelais' easy chair," etc.

By none has Swift been more bitterly assailed than by the Scotch. The writers of the Edinburgh Review, with two or three exceptions, have scarcely ceased to this day to make periodical onslaughts on the great Dean. Lord Jeffrey has devoted at least a dozen articles to the bitterest invectives on his character as an author and a man. Nor has Hume or Dougald Stewart evinced a more friendly feeling. Even Smollett, in general so full of good nature and geniality, has not failed, when the opportunity presented itself, to cast a stone, or throw garbage, at the "heartless" Dean. But why was all this? The Scotch had no reason to be displeased with the Drapier's Letters; Wood and his spurious copper currency were nothing to them. They had no profit, no hand in oppressing the Irish;

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* Scott's *Life of Swift*, sec. ii.

nor did many of them sympathise with their oppressors, but generally the reverse. It is not without reason, however, that the writers of Scotland have done so much to exhibit Swift to posterity as no better than a fiend in human form, and as a worse enemy to womankind, if possible, than the serpent demon who tempted Eve in Eden. What the reason was let the honest lexicographer tell. Alluding to a scathing pamphlet by Swift, entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," Dr. Johnson proceeds: "In this pamphlet the Scotch were mentioned in terms so provoking to that irritable nation, that, resolving not to be offended with impunity, the Scotch lords, *in a body*, demanded an audience of the Queen and solicited reparation. *A proclamation was issued, in which three hundred pounds was offered for discovery of the author.* From this storm he was, as he relates, secured by a sleight; of what kind, or by whose prudence, is not known; and such was the increase of his reputation, that the Scottish nation applied again that he would be their friend." *

But the Scottish writers who were incapable of being influenced by such means have ever been among the most zealous defenders of Swift. This is eminently true, for example, of Sir Walter Scott. The author of "Waverly" writes thus:

> "As an author there are three peculiarities remarkable in the character of Swift. The first of these has been rarely conceded to an author, at least by his contemporaries. It is the distinguished attribute of ORIGINALITY;† and it cannot be refused to Swift by the most severe critic. * * * The second peculiarity which has, indeed, been already noticed, is his total indifference to literary fame. Swift executed his various and numerous works as a carpenter forms wedges, mallets or other implements of his art; not with the purpose of distinguishing himself by the workmanship

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* Johnson's *Lives of the Poets.* Art. Swift.

† The author of the *Henriade* was of the same opinion as Sir Walter: "Il y a du Doyen Swift plusieus morçeaux dont *on ne trouve aucun exemple dans l'antiquité;* c'est Rabelais perfectionné."—(Voltaire, *Siécle de Louis*, XIV., t. iii., p. 283). Elsewhere the French philosopher says: "M. Swift est Rabelais *dans son bon sens, et vivant en bonne compagnie.* * * * Il a toute la finesse, la raison, le choix, le bon goût *qui manquent à notre curé de Meudon.*"—*Lettres sur les Anglais.* Lett. 22.

bestowed on the tools themselves, but solely in order to render them fit for accomplishing a certain purpose, beyond which they were of no value in his eyes. * * * The third distinguishing mark of Swift's literary character is, that with the exception of history (for his fugitive attempts in Pindaric and Latin verse are too unimportant to be noticed) he has never attempted any style of composition in which he has not obtained a distinguished pitch of excellence." *

Even Thackeray says: "I have always thought of him and of Marlborough as the two greatest men of that age." He calls him "a lonely, fallen Prometheus, groaning as the vulture tears him." Elsewhere he designates him as "the greatest satirist the world ever hath seen."† But Mr. Thackeray is shocked at Swift's heartlessness and brutality to woman. According to the author of Vanity Fair, the author of Gulliver's Travels had no real gallantry in him. This, be it remembered, is the estimate of one who in all his novels has never portrayed a respectable specimen of the sex. The types of womankind left us by Thackeray are Becky Sharp and Amelia Sedley; one the impersonation of intellect without virtue, the other the impersonation of virtue without intellect. That is, the lesson to be learned from the writings of Thackeray, especially from his Vanity Fair, is, that if a woman has intellect she has no virtue, and that if she has virtue she has no intellect! Now, when or where did the "heartless" Swift perpetrate, either expressly or by implication, any such base libel on the sex?

Macaulay, too, cannot but hate Swift when he has a word to say about him in the Edinburgh Review. Thus, for example, in one article he describes the author of the satire already alluded to—"The Public Spirit of the Whigs," as "The apostate politician, the ribald priest, the perjured lover," etc.‡ In a less bitter mood, when he forgets for the time being how deeply the "apostate politician," "ribald priest," etc., had wounded the feelings of his Scottish friends, the virtuous defender of the Massacre of Glencoe proceeds thus:

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* *Life of Swift*, by Sir Walter Scott. Sec. vi.

† See Thackeray's *Esmond*, Book iii, c. v. x.

‡ *Edin. Rev.*, No. lvi, p. 528.

> "Little did Temple imagine that the coarse exterior of his dependent concealed a genius equally suited to politics and to letters—*a genius destined to shake great kingdoms, to stir the laughter and the rage of millions, and to leave to posterity memorials which can perish only with the English language.* Little did he think that the flirtation in his servants' hall, which he perhaps scarcely deigned to make the subject of a jest, was the beginning of a long unprosperous love which was to be as widely famed as the passion of Petrarch or of Abelard." *

Of the many warm, true friends of Swift, none knew him better than Dr. Delany, or perhaps as well. In reply to some reflections by Lord Orrery on the Dean after his death, Dr. Delany takes the part of his illustrious friend as follows: "All this considered, the character of his life will appear like that of his writings; they will both bear to be reconsidered and re-examined with the utmost attention, and always discover new beauties and excellencies upon every examination. They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever *petulant ignorance, pride, malice, malignity or envy,* interposes to cloud or sully his fame, I take upon me to pronounce that the eclipse will not last long. To conclude, no man ever deserved better of any country than Swift did of his—a steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchtul and a faithful counsellor, under many severe trials and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and his fortune."

True, there is nothing in all this to show that Swift was not the "heartless monster" towards the ladies who loved him so tenderly, which he is represented by Jeffreys, Thackeray, and some others. That, however, we will come to presently. First the reader will please to bear in mind what we are told in the preceding pages as the dictum of Thackeray and others in regard to Swift's "brutality" to Varina (Miss Jane Waryjng), a "fair daughter of Erin." Were the facts of the case such as they are represented by the enemies of Swift, then, indeed, the terms "wretch," "monster," etc., which they so freely apply to him, would be well deserved. But no fact in the history of that wonderful man is more fully attested than that this "fair daughter of Erin" rejected Swift's offer of marriage when he was poor, and seemed to her and her friends likely to continue so. In short, she did not want him when he was without means; she much preferred a Limerick merchant; at least, her friends had this preference. Thackeray says, reproachfully, that Swift was as proud as Lucifer. He certainly had pride enough to withdraw his affections from one who would give him her hand with her heart only with the understanding that for one reason or another he was likely to prove an eligible match. Accordingly, when, after all attentions to the lady, on his part, had ceased for nearly two years, Varina made overtures to him intimating her willingness now to accept his offer, he begged leave to be excused, on the ground that he was still poor. Now, if it be borne in mind that during the period that had elapsed between the lady's rejection of Swift's suit and her repentance for it he had become famous, it will hardly seem fair to call him a "wretch" for preferring the affections of a lady who would be content to live with him for ever on five shillings a week.*

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* *Edin. Rev.*, Oct., 1838, p. 178.

So much for his "brutality," "baseness," etc., to "the fair daughter of Erin's Isle." This "fair daughter" is made a great deal of by the traducers of Swift's memory, to show how impartial they are, being willing to become the champions of "a daughter" of any country—even of half-civilized Hibernia—who with the slightest plausibility could be numbered among the "victims" of the "apostate politician," "ribald priest," etc., although the true "daughters of Erin" might well blush if the calculating, "coy," business-like Miss Jane Warying could be regarded as a type of them in disinterestedness and generosity.

Great stress has been laid on a remark of Sir Walter Scott in his account of the final meeting of Miss Vanhomrigh

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* See Hawkesworth's *Life of Swift;* also *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, by Dr. Delany.

(Vanessa) and Swift. Sir Walter calls the return of the lady's prying letter in the manner alluded to, but not correctly described by our contributor, her death warrant. But none who read the whole passage in Scott's "Life" will say that Sir Walter meant anything very serious by this.[*] The chivalric author of the "Lady of the Lake" was quite aware that some of those who wished to be considered zealous champions of the fair had not scrupled to tear some of the fair hair out of their wives' heads! When Swift committed the atrocity of going in person to the room of Miss Vanhomrigh, laying the letter she had written to his wife, asking was she his wife, on the lady's table, and walking out without saying a word, he was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, Miss Vanhomrigh being only twenty-eight, or at most twenty-nine. At the same time he was laboring under a painful disease that never left him until it killed him. But let us hear the original and best informed authority on the subject:

> "In 1723," says Dr. Johnson, the most unswerving of biographers, "died Mrs. Vanhomrigh, a woman made unhappy *by her admiration of wit*, and ignominiously distinguished by the name of Vanessa, *whose conduct has already been sufficiently discussed*, and whose history is too well known to be minutely repeated. She was a young woman fond of literature, whom *Decanus*, the Dean, called Cadenus by transposition of the letters, took pleasure *in directing and instructing*; till, from being proud of his praise, she *grew fond of his person*. Swift was then about forty-seven, at an age when vanity is strongly excited by the amorous attention of a young woman. If it be said that Swift should have checked a passion which he never meant to gratify, recourse must be had to that extenuation which he so much despised—*men are but men*. * * For the admission of her courtship, and his indulgence of her hopes, after his marriage to Stella, no other honest plea can be found than that *he delayed a disagreeable* discovery from time to time, dreading the immediate bursts of distress, and watching for a favorable moment. She thought herself neglected, and died of disappointment, having ordered by her will the poem to be published, in which Cadenus had proclaimed her excellence and confessed his love." [†]

This, it will be admitted, presents the "brutality" of Swift towards Vanessa in a somewhat different light from that in which it is presented by Macaulay, Thackeray, and some others of less note. That the defender of the Massacre of Glencoe—the most atrocious butchery in all history—should be so full of horror and indignation for this "murder" of Vanessa by Swift is one of those strange phenomena which we must confess are inscrutable to us. Far from seeing any great harm in shooting down helpless, innocent women in cold blood at their own firesides, with their babes in their arms, as if they were wild beasts, Lord Macaulay makes a hero of the royal author of the butchery. Mr. Thackeray, upon the other hand, while doing all in his power to propagate the execrable, false doctrine that no woman can be at once virtuous and intellectual, is wonderfully zealous and pathetic in abusing Swift as if he had been a thief and a murderer, for his diabolical treatment of "the saints of English story."(!)

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[*] See Scott's *Life of Swift*, sec. v. [†] Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*.

We have already shown, on the best authority, the real nature of Swift's "brutality" to both Varina and Vanessa. Now let us see how he has proved himself a "wretch," and all the other vile things that can disgrace human nature, by his conduct towards Stella. Roscoe tells us how he was engaged when he heard of her illness. "The Dean," he says, "while in England, was enjoying himself at Twickenham, in the society of his old and best beloved friends, in a manner that reminded him of the pleasantest epoch in his life. Bolingbroke had returned from exile; Pope, Winthrop, Gay, and Bathurst, not only received him with open arms, but brought their most esteemed friends and connections to admire and honor him in the novel character of the patriot of Ireland, when tidings reached him which threw a damp on all his hopes, and made him silently and sorrowfully withdraw from the intellectual circles of Twickenham and Dawley."* Roscoe is amply sustained in this statement by those who knew Swift best. Alluding to the same sad news, Dr. Johnson says: "The pleasure of popularity was interrupted by domestic misery. Mrs. Johnson, whose conversation was to him *the great softener of the ills of life*, began, in the year of the

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* See *Memoir of Swift*, by Thomas Roscoe.

Drapier's triumph, to decline, etc. * * But this call of calamity hastened him to Ireland, where perhaps his presence contributed to restore her to imperfect and tottering health."* Nowhere is Sir Walter more tenderly pathetic than in his comments on Swift's letters written at this time. "They are," he says, "a true picture of an agonized heart." In proof of this he quotes such extracts from those letters as the following: "The very time I am writing I conclude the fairest soul in the world hath left its body. I have been long weary of this world, and shall for my small remainder of days *be weary of life*, having forever lost that conversation which could only make it tolerable." It was in vain that he was received like a great conqueror. "His entry into Dublin," says Roscoe, "was like a triumphal procession; and he was escorted amidst the ringing of bells, and the sounds of *feux-de-joie*, by a body of the most respectable citizens to the very doors of his deanery."† In spite of all this, grief for his beloved Stella lay heavy at his heart. Still it revived his spirits somewhat to find that she was still alive. Writing to Dr. Sheridan a few days before he left England, he says: "I beg, if you have not written before you get this, to tell me no particulars, but the event in general; my weakness, my age, my friendship, will bear no more." Some days later he writes: "I kept your letter an hour in my pocket with all the suspense of a man who expected to hear the worst news that fortune could give him." Finally, when he reached her, no husband was ever kinder. "He had the sorrow of watching over her," says Roscoe, "in this state, of marking, day by day, and hour by hour (as he had done in his diary of Temple's decline), the gradual approaches of death, for a period of five months. He did all that lay in his power—consistent with his strangely-adopted resolution in one particular—to soothe the pillow of departing life; he gave his time, his consolation; he sat by, soothed and prayed with her."

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* *Lives of the Poets.*

† *Loc. cit.*

Swift was never the same after the death of Stella. So profound was his grief for the loss of her that it could be extinguished only by the complete wreck of his great mind. Neither Beatrice, nor Laura, nor Leonora, nor any other of the immortalized beloved ones of genius, was mourned with deeper sorrow and anguish than Stella. And far be it from us to deny that the lady deserved to be loved in life, and lamented in death, as much as any of her illustrious sisters. What we do deny, and most emphatically, is, that Swift was the heartless, relentless speculator in the affections of woman which he has been portrayed by men who, one and all, are grossly misrepresented by those who knew them best, if, with all their boasted intellectual power and fascination, they were ever beloved by any woman—even by a Becky Sharp or an Amelia Sedley. And we think that every impartial reader will admit that, hurried as our remarks have necessarily been in replying to our contributor, while preparing for press, we have shown that our denial is well founded. To this we can only add, that were we permitted to give advice to those who periodically evince a fondness for abusing Swift, we would direct their attention to that part of his Latin epitaph, written by himself, and which is inscribed on a plain black marble slab in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, where he tells the passer-by to imitate him, if he be able, as the inflexible vindicator of human liberty:

> Abi viator
> Et imitare si poteris,
> Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem.

ART. V.—1. *Historical Collections of South Carolina.* CARROLL.

2. *Hand Book of the Cotton Trade.* By THOMAS ELLISON. London. 1858.

3. *De Bow's Review.*

4. *Speculations on the Future of Cotton Supply.* By HENRY G. MILLER. London. 1873.

IT has been frequently asserted by different writers that no mention is made of the cotton plant earlier than the writings of Herodotus, four hundred and fifty years before Christ; but by referring to the ancient literature of India it will be found particularly noticed. The Institutes of Menu, a very ancient digest of law, written eight hundred years before Christ, contains many allusions to cotton and cotton cloth, under the Sanscrit names of *Kurpasa* and *Kurpasum*, with occasional allusions to cotton seed under the Sanscrit *Karpus Asthi.* In the second volume of Menu, page 44, the very frequent mention of the plant leads to the inference that it had been in use for an indefinite period.

In the Bible, also, Book of Esther, chapter 1, verse 6, we find in the description of the hangings which decorated the court of the Persian palace, at Shushan, another mention of cotton cloth or calico formed into curtains. The description has reference to the occasion of the great feast given by Alhasuerus, and the word "carpus" is employed. Herodotus next refers to this subject, 450 years before Christ; when writing of India, he says: "The wild trees of that country bear fleeces as their fruit, surpassing those of sheep in beauty and excellence, and the Indians use cloth made from these trees."

For upwards of three thousand years India has been celebrated for the marvellous beauty and excellence of her calico and muslin fabrics. Hindoo chronology being somewhat unreliable, it is impossible to ascertain the exact period when cotton was first wrought into clothing; it would seem natural to suppose, however, that the "dazzling whiteness of its bursting fruit" must have attracted attention at a very early day; nor could its silky filament, when once seen, remain long ungathered. The impulse to twist this into thread would appear naturally to follow, as the next step towards the art of spinning.

The Hindoo fabrics of the present day can scarcely be excelled in delicacy and perfection of workmanship, though spun in the rudest manner. Tavernier, a French traveller, in speaking of the muslins and calicoes of Surat, says, they are "so fine that you could hardly feel them in your hand, and the thread when spun is scarcely discernible."

The muslin made in Bengal is so extremely thin, that " when spread upon the grass and moistened with dew, it is scarcely discernible without careful examination," and a single pound of this thread was spun out to the length of a hundred and fifteen miles. This, however, has been excelled by the work of English machines, which produced, for the great Exhibition of 1851, thread so fine, that a pound could reach a thousand and twenty-one miles. The famous Decca muslins, sometimes called "webs of woven wind," are manufactured from a cotton which grows near Calcutta. It is of extreme fineness, but so short that it cannot be used where machinery is employed; yet this muslin is fabricated by the Indian with his distaff and fingers.

From India cotton was introduced into Southern Europe. Verres used it for awnings in Sicily, and Cæsar and Lentulus for similar purposes in Rome. Columbus found cotton abundant in the West Indies. The early Spanish historians describe it as forming the chief clothing of the Mexicans. Fernandez de Cordova, in 1517, while exploring the northern coast of Yucatan, was surprised to find, instead of naked savages, a people decently clad in cotton garments. Cortez, when invading Mexico, was made the recipient of presents from Montezuma consisting of cotton fabrics of the most exquisite workmanship. Charles V. obtained similar presents from Cortez. Magellan saw cotton among the Brazilians, and it was discovered in the most ancient Peruvian tombs, in patterns similar to some now in use.

Considering the geographical position of India, as well as the fact that the plant is indigenous to her soil, also the exceeding fineness of her cotton fabrics, which are celebrated throughout the world, it would appear that a large amount of very superior cotton might be grown in that country. This, however, has not proved to be the case, as the result of the English efforts in India will show. Cotton growers of experience, having all the advantages of the best American seed, as well as the necessary implements and machinery, have done all in their power to overcome certain obstacles, but without success. The season there being uniformly divided into the wet and the dry periods, the sudden transition from one to the other was found altogether unfavorable to the growth of the plant, and after a trial of six years the undertaking was relinquished, under the conviction that neither climate nor soil favored the growth of a superior quality of cotton in any considerable quantity.

In 1821 the culture of cotton was introduced into Egypt, where the climate and soil have proved peculiarly favorable to the production of a superior grade of cotton; but as there the success of a crop depends on the inundations of the Nile, the amount of yield must ever remain a matter of uncertainty. In Africa experiments have been made similar to those conducted in India, though on a smaller scale. The western shores and region of Sierra Leone, as well as Yoruba, have been found capable of producing a staple which is superior to that of India, though too coarse for the manufacture of the finer fabrics. In Brazil the manufacture of cotton was successfully introduced as early as the commencement of the present century, and for a number of years the annual yield was second only to that of the United States. Since 1843, however, the increase has been by no means rapid. The West India Islands, which, at the close of the last century, relinquished the culture of cotton for that of sugar-cane, possess unequalled natural advantages for the growth of the highest grades of Sea Island cotton, and furnished at the close of the last century three-fourths of the annual cotton supply.

We are informed in Purchas's "Pilgrim" that cotton seed was first planted in South Carolina in 1621, and that their "plentiful coming up" was an object of interest in America and England. The staple does not appear, however, to have been much cultivated except as a garden plant previous to the Revolution. In Macgregor's "Commercial Statistics" it is stated that, "among the provincial trade returns, we find that among the exports of Charlestown, from November, 1747, to November, 1748, were seven bags of cotton wool, valued at £3 11s. 5d. per. bag." In 1754 some cotton was exported from South Carolina; in 1770 there were shipped for Liverpool three bags from New York, four bags from Virginia and Maryland, and three barrels full of cotton from North Carolina. In 1784 eight bales of cotton, shipped from the United States to England, were seized, on the ground that "so much cotton could not be produced in the United States."

The two circumstances which gave the first impulse to cotton culture in America were, first, the invention of machinery in England by Wyatt, Hargreaves, and Arkwright, from 1739 to 1769, which resulted in the establishment of the factory system in 1785; and, secondly, the invention of Whitney's saw gin in 1793. The demand produced by the former could never have been supplied by all the countries combined, without the assistance of the latter. Thus it may be seen that the secure basis upon which the American trade was established was due entirely, in the first instance, to the fortunate conjunction of an extensive demand with the means of supplying it. When the cotton gin was invented, in 1793, England received from America one bag in every one hundred and twenty-six. At the beginning of the present century one-eighth of her supply was from America; in 1820, about two-thirds of her entire importation was from this source; and by the commencement of the war the export from this country to England amounted to about two-thirds of her whole supply.

The annual crop of America, from 1806 to 1830, averaged about one million bales. From 1830 to 1840 the yield increased, with occasional fluctuations, when, in the last-mentioned year, it went beyond two millions. From 1840 to 1852 the production continued to increase, with occasional fluctuations, and went beyond three millions in the last-mentioned year. From 1852 to the commencement of the war there was still a steady increase, until it approached three millions and a half. Previous to the war fully three-fourths of the annual yield was exported, and realized, for the few years immediately preceding the war, the sum of one hundred and forty million dollars annually. In the year 1856 it was estimated that seven hundred and fifty thousand bales, retained for home manufacture, were made to produce five times this sum by northern industry.

At the close of the war the anomalous state of the lands, the disordered state of society, and disorganized condition of labor, made the question of cotton supply one of extreme anxiety. Not only were the usual supplies from America to England, France, and North of Europe out of the market, but it seemed doubtful if the successful culture of cotton could be resumed for an indefinite period. It would appear, however, that the great laws of supply and demand are not to be arrested by political disturbance. In 1868 the total amount of cotton on hand was two million two hundred and seventy-seven thousand six hundred and eighty-three bales. It has been estimated, however, that the growth for this year amounted to five hundred thousand only, the balance being the excess of past crops. In 1866–'67, with all the disadvantages of a wet and backward spring, a drought in August, with destructive storms in September, the total crop exceeded two million two hundred thousand, and by 1869–'70 it had passed beyond three million. In 1870–'71 it exceeded four million two hundred thousand; in 1871–'72, it fell short of three million; and in 1872–73 the amount exceeded three million eight hundred thousand. The New York Stock Exchange tables, compiled by Superintendent E. R. Powell, giving the date of bloom, first appearance of caterpillar, storms, and droughts for the past fifteen years, shows clearly that the depredations of worms and storms have been unusually frequent since the close of the war, and that every short crop since 1865–'66 has been directly due to such apparently unavoidable circumstances.

The cotton crop which is now being marketed will considerably exceed four million bales, but as the price is considerably lower than it was one year ago, it looks as if the planters were to receive less for it than for the smaller crop of 1872–'73.

In 1856–'57 Mr. J. B. Gribble, of New Orleans, prepared a table exhibiting a distribution of the entire crop of the world. According to this table the number of bales amounted to something over four millions. Of bales averaging four hundred pounds the West Indies produced four thousand, Brazil five thousand five hundred, Egypt eighty-six thousand four hundred and fifty-six, East Indies four hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, and the United States three million eight hundred and eighty thousand, or nearly seven-eighths of the entire amount produced throughout the world.

The steady progress of home consumption cannot fail to arrest the attention of all directly or indirectly interested in this staple. In 1860–'61 the amount consumed at the North was six hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and fifty-seven bales; in ten years, or in 1870–'71, it exceeded one million seventy-two thousand four hundred and twenty-six bales, not including ninety-one thousand consumed elsewhere in America. In 1865–'66, and 1866–'67, the amount shipped to all points varied but slightly from one million and a half. By 1871–'72 the export amounted to two million six hundred and seventy-five thousand seven hundred and sixty, an increase of seven hundred thousand bales over the year previous. The latest United States census report shows that cotton has been raised in twenty different States since the war, the Gulf States, ranking in the order in which they are named, furnishing the largest yield: Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas. The other States are Arkansas, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri, Kentucky, Florida, Illinois, Virginia, Nevada, California, Utah, Kansas, Indiana, West Virginia. It is asserted that a lack of suitable labor only prevents a large growth on the Pacific slope.

Until the year 1830 the cultivation of cotton was confined to the States bordering on the Atlantic; in this year, however, it was discovered that the Mississippi bottom lands could grow the article cheaper than those previously cultivated. This discovery produced the greatest excitement. A perfect land mania was created in the North-west, only equalled by the desire to speculate in the South-west. Scarcely a State in the Union resisted the infatuation, and most of the speculators were plunged more or less into debt. Numbers of new banks were incorporated during the years 1833–'34–'35–'36, for the purpose of affording the much-needed financial aid. The capital of these banks was based almost exclusively on the issue of State bonds, in the delusive hope that the quantity of money would be increased. The state legislatures hurried through their charters, and the wildness which ensued was unprecedented.

In any systematic and thorough inquiry into the principles which should be considered in the *cultivation* of cotton, in any country, it is essentially important to ascertain the necessary facts concerning the plant, its climate, and soil. In respect to the classification of this plant, it may be said that botanists have never been able to agree. The following statement, however, based on the most reliable authority, * is, as far as possible, a correct classification of the different species of the staple as cultivated throughout the world. The genus *Gossypium*, so called by Pliny, is distinguished by having a double calyse. The species of gossypium are uncertain in number. Linnæus gave five in 1762, while Lanarck gives a description of eight, and Poiret adds four others. Subsequently botanists increased the number to twenty-four, but were surpassed by certain cultivators who, with probably less judgment, insisted on a hundred at least. Several botanists of note, in making the seed a basis of classification, succeeded in limiting the number of species to two, accordingly as the seeds were white or black. Thus, all the Indian cotton, and gray-seeded American cotton, fell under the species *gossypium album*, while the black-seeded cotton, from whatever quarter, was placed under *gossypium nigrum.*

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* See De Royle on Cotton in India.

Since, however, there seems abundant evidence that the seed changes from gray to black, and *vice versa*, it would appear that this classification is of questionable reliability. The weight of authority seems to favor four distinct species, from three of which the whole commercial article is derived The first of these species, *gossypium Indicum*, includes under its varieties the different kinds of Indian cotton and much of the cotton of China. It is found in Arabia, Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and there seems to be ground for believing that some of the African cotton forms simply varieties of this species. *Gossypium arboreum* comes next in order, and is the species found growing wild in India, but is never cultivated. Its flowers are red, its cotton silky, and used exclusively in making the sacerdotal thread of the Brahmins. The third species, *gossypium Barbadeuse*, or Barbadoes cotton, came from the West Indies into the Island of Bourbon; thence it was taken into India under the name of Maurice cotton, but was afterward known as Bourbon. The Sea Island, New Orleans, and upland Georgian are simply varieties of this species, and Mexico is credited with being the land of its nativity. Some of the best American authorities, however, consider the Sea Island as belonging to the species *gossypium arboreum*, and not to the gossypium Barbadeuse. The fourth and last species, *gossypium Peruvianum*, is readily detected by the tendency of its black seed to adhere firmly together, and includes in its varieties the cotton of Peru, Brazil, Pernambuco, and Maranhan. In the United States there are two leading varieties of cotton cultivated. They are known as Sea Island and upland, American botanists calling the former "tree cotton" and the latter "shrub cotton."

As the cultivation of the Sea Island staple is confined to particular localities, the amount produced, as compared with the upland, is small, while the soil, climate, and mode of ginning are very different. The climate most desirable for the cotton plant is one in which warm weather prevails, with exemption from frost during seven or eight months of the year, and, as a general rule, the magnitude of the crop is found to depend upon the length of time between the last frost in spring and the first in autumn. In very dry seasons the plants are checked in growth, while in very wet seasons they are apt to run to leaves, producing very little cotton. The cotton belt proper is found between the Gulf of Mexico and 36 degrees of latitude north. The 32d degree of latitude may be said to bisect a cotton-growing region, two hundred miles in width, of unsurpassed fertility.

The three kinds of soil best adapted to the plant are, first, the red lands of South Carolina, Georgia, also portions of Texas, Alabama, and Mississippi; this quality being soft, fine, easily pulverized, and very liable to wash away unless cultivated after the improved system of circle ditching and circle ploughing. The next class includes the black lands of central Alabama and the undulating prairies of Texas. These lands are held in high esteem, and have given every evidence of superiority over the red lands. The fourth class are known as alluvions, and include the river bottoms. These are the most productive by reason of the immense deposit of vegetable mould resulting from frequent overflows. Yet another class might here be added, consisting of the Sea Island cotton lands. These have not hitherto received distinct classification, though the result of correct analysis would seem to entitle them to that distinction. They may be described as thin, alluvial, and sandy, and though not so fertile as the black lands or river bottoms, are equally esteemed on account of their peculiar adaptation to the growing of fine cotton.

In the agricultural literature of the day, the subject of cotton culture has received an attention by no means commensurate with its importance, while the general method of culture, as hitherto adopted, has been pronounced by the more advanced cultivators as not only unskillful and unscientific, but positively injurious to the lands, and unworthy the leading American staple. Millions of acres of lands have been allowed to deteriorate through the washing of the soil, which could have been preserved by simply resorting to the method of culture known as circle ploughing and circle ditching. As many more have been allowed to become impoverished through a reckless disregard of the principle of restoration, now fully understood, and which, when adhered to, continues the soil in an undiminished state of productiveness. In order to elevate the methods of cotton culture to what may be called a more improved and scientific standard, attention has been directed more particularly to the best means of preserving the soil, to the best means of restoring it, and to the scarcely less important consideration, that of securing the best quality of cotton seed. Circle ploughing and circle ditching was first practised in Mississippi, about twenty-five years ago, and was first suggested by President Jefferson, who had seen it in successful operation among the French peasants. It consists in simply conforming the furrow to the curve of the hill.

It might appear that an expedient so simple would have been adopted even when the cultivation of cotton was in the rudest state, but such was not the case; the system has not been practised generally for a longer period than twenty five years, and at the time of its introduction large tracts of land had already been rendered well nigh worthless. Among such soils as are easily pulverized, as, for instance, the porous red lands, which easily wash away when not protected, this system of culture is found absolutely indispensable, and is now generally practised among all enterprising planters. The efforts which have been made to restore, as well as improve, the soil has led to a more thorough investigation of the principles of agricultural chemistry. The different soils, as well as the different varieties of cotton and cotton seed, have been analyzed, and their constituents accurately determined; in addition to this, the exact nature and amount of chemical substances annually extracted from the soil by the production of a given amount of cotton have been accurately ascertained, thus rendering the selection of suitable fertilizers an easy matter. Mr. Joseph B. Lyman, of Louisiana, who has rendered most valuable aid to the cause of cotton culture in America, estimates that for every two thousand pounds of cotton wool which might be expected to grow on twenty-five acres of land, sixty pounds of the following ingredients are drawn from the soil.* Of phosphoric acid, twelve pounds; of lime, seventeen pounds; and of potassa, thirty-one pounds; and if the process is repeated for twenty years upon the same soil, there will have been withdrawn from the soil during that time two hundred and forty pounds of phosphoric acid, three hundred and fifty pounds of lime, and six hundred and twenty pounds of potassa; and if sixty pounds only of these ingredients are incorporated with the soil every year, the twenty-five acres will not decrease in fertility.

As a means of restoring to the soil its fertilizing properties, cotton seed has been applied with success, though guano and bone dust are preferred on account of the large percentage of phosphates which they contain. The compost manure, when properly prepared and generously applied, produce, as a rule, the most favorable results. "High farming," says Mr. Lyman, "does not consist in drawing large crops from virgin or from alluvial mould, returning nothing, and exhausting any soil that is not like the alluvions of the Mississippi or the Nile, strictly inexhaustible. The truly successful planter is not the man who manages year by year to take a thousand bales from a thousand acres of Mississippi bottom, or the black cane lands of middle Alabama. The really admirable manager is one who takes the average land, the natural growth of which is pine or forky-leaf black oak or small white oak, keeps it in as good condition as he found it, or even better, raises his own meats, vegetables, and wool, and, one year with another, takes as much cotton from an acre as his neighbors, working in the old way, take from three."† No system of culture can be properly considered as *advanced*, or is likely to secure very desirable results, that does not require such a preparation of the soil as will prevent the loss of the fertilizing salts by washing—such a system of rotation crops as will allow the soil occasional rest (at least one year out of four), and such an application of manure and thorough cultivation of each crop as will test to a fair extent the producing capacity of the soil. The immediate tendency of a thorough system of cultivation is to prevent "dry rot," "rust," "cotton louse," and "boll worm"—it furthermore tends to the permanent improvement of the lands as well as the cotton seed, and with good seed a more valuable quality of cotton may always be obtained. The improvement of cotton seed was made a specialty by many planters for a number of years previous to the war, and large fortunes have been realized in many instances by the sale of improved kinds. The manner of the introduction of the well-known Mexican seed, so long a favorite among planters, is interesting.

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* Lyman on Cotton Culture, p. 108. † *Ibid*, p. 112.

The American consul at the City of Mexico, being aware of the rare excellence of Mexican cotton, endeavored to secure a supply of seed directly from that government, but was unsuccessful. A short time afterwards, however, when dining with the Mexican minister, he received an intimation that, though cotton seed could not be taken from Mexican territory, no objection would be made to the exportation of dolls in any quantity. The consul, taking advantage of the suggestion, lost no time in having a number of Mexican dolls stuffed and shipped. At one time some of the varieties of cotton seed were so much in demand as to sell at immoderately high prices. The "Banana," for instance, at one period brought one hundred dollars per bushel, and the "Hogan" ten cents apiece. Among the Sea Island planters some of the improved varieties of black seed were even more highly esteemed, and could scarcely be purchased at any price. In order to obtain an improved quality of cotton seed it is usual to select from a quantity of good quality the finest and most perfectly shaped, then again selecting from each plant those bolls which are most perfectly developed. The more frequent the repetition of this simple process, the more valuable will be the seed obtained; and it has been found that unless the principle of careful selection is invariably observed, rapid deterioration is sure to follow. Among the Sea Island planters particular attention is given to the fineness of the lint as well as to the character of the boll in making the selection.

At the present time there are commercial tendencies which seem to favor a bright future for cotton growing in America. The demand for cotton goods is not only increasing in every quarter, but the incapacity of other countries to supply this demand has been clearly demonstrated. Nor are the rivals of the United States likely to prove formidable. India, unlike America, has no wide extent of fertile country interspersed by great rivers, affording an easy and natural means of transporting the produce to shipping and consuming points, while her cotton, like that of Africa, is of too poor a quality ever to replace American cotton in England, France, and the north of Europe, where the factories demand a superior grade of the article. The fact that India, China, Brazil, Turkey, and Egypt import more cotton in the shape of cotton goods and yarns than they export of the raw material, shows that they do not raise enough for their own use, and that, after all, the cotton question must depend on the American States. The system of planting hitherto practised—of making cotton the exclusive crop—is even now undergoing modification, the disastrous effects of this system having been sufficiently felt to convince cotton-growers of the importance of raising more corn and less cotton. In order to be delivered from present indebtedness and to avoid debt in future, planters have determined on raising their own supplies. Many, doubtless, in their haste to get rich, will continue for a time to practice the "vicious" system, and to pursue the avocation of planting in the spirit of the speculator or gambler.

ART. VI.—*Catalogues, Prospectuses and Circulars of Colleges, Academies, Institutes, &c.*

WE have visited some more educational institutions. Those who know us need not be assured that we will give our impressions faithfully of such of each grade as our limited space and time will permit us to notice. It is, of course, otherwise with those whose estimate is based on the representations of those whom we criticise. But, unfortunately, the number of this class is quite large, as our older readers are well aware. To new, or casual readers, it is proper to mention—before we proceed with our present discussion—that there is scarcely one of the numerous tribes of charlatans and malefactors that infest our country, and not only live on public credulity, but grow fat and sleek upon it, which we have not taken the liberty to denounce from time to time. This will require a slight digression, but it is one which the impartial reader will readily excuse, especially when he finds that the main object of the article has not been lost sight of, but that, let who will gnash their teeth, rage, swagger or assume the air of injured innocence, or unappreciated worth, we have not shrunk from the performance of our duty as a critic, nor failed to award to to those who merit it by their faithful, intelligent and successful labor, their just meed of praise.

It is, perhaps, only natural that even the worst of the former should attribute to us the most unworthy motives. Curiously enough, the shibboleth of every one of the various gangs is that they are "attacked" only because they would not give patronage. That is, they are all innocent, worthy people, who are assailed in a manner not merely unjust, but diabolical! Now let us examine this matter for a moment. Among the first to complain of us as "perfectly fiendish," were those much-injured, worthy people known the world over as quack doctors. Numbers of these have honored us with the grossest abuse, in the same publications in which they have proclaimed the numerous infallible virtues of their nostrums. How well we deserved to be thus distinguished, the curious reader may judge for himself by turning to almost any of our articles on this interesting and prolific subject—that, for example, entitled "Our Quack Doctors and their Performances."* But when have we received patronage from a quack doctor? Where is the quack doctor that can say we have ever asked his patronage? In which of the twenty-eight volumes of this journal we have published, can the advertisement of any quack nostrum be found? Upon the other hand, we have ample proof, in various forms, "in black and white," of the fact that were we only to accept the patronage of the quack doctors, we might have been rich to-day, from that source alone.

In a manner similarly "fiendish" we have denounced the performances of more than a score of insurance companies—warned our readers against them, and predicted their untimely end. Of the number which we have thus taken the liberty to "attack," not more than three or four survive to-day. Several of the companies, now defunct, and more than one of those that still eke out a precarious existence—because there will always be a portion of the public whose credulity is proof against all warnings, and all examples—published their own monthly or weekly organs, exactly as the quack doctors do. In one class of organs just the same as in the other, we have been abused in numerous instances. Not content with scattering these documents in thousands in railroad cars, at hotels, etc., those who had them manufactured sent them in bundles to our office, supposing that they could frighten us from continuing to expose their impostures. But that they failed to intimidate us in the slightest degree, every number of our journal will testify. When we commenced to examine into the pretensions of these corporations, and to show what a striking difference there was between their promises and their performances, no such phenomenon had been seen in this country for many years as the failure of an insurance company. It followed, therefore, that we must not be merely wrong, or mistaken, but deliberate falsifiers and libellers! To-day the public knows who were the falsifiers and libellers; quite a large proportion know it to their cost, having paid dearly for their knowledge.

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* N. Q. R., No. XVI. See, also, the article entitled *Our Quack Doctors and how they Thrive*, N. Q. R., No. XLVII., December, 1871.

Again: when the Tammany Ring was all-powerful *in this* city—when there was scarcely a printing office of any extent which it had not bought up—when there were not more than two or three newspapers, daily or weekly, to which it could not issue orders sure to be obeyed—when it had control of all the judges—in a word, of all the machinery of justice—we did not shrink from assailing it. True, dearly did we pay for it. We had not, indeed, expected to pass unscathed in such an encounter; but low as our estimate of the gang had become, we confess we had no idea that they were quite so base as they proved themselves to be in our own case.

That we were the first to make a determined assault on the stronghold of ignorance, arrogance, false pretences, and thievery, the facts within the reach of all amply demonstrate, although we would not deprive the New York Times of the smallest fragment of its well-earned laurels, for its vigorous, uncompromising, and finally successful war on the same malefactors.

But let us recall a circumstance or two. On the day succeeding that on which our number for March, 1871, containing our article entitled, "The Central Park under Ringleaders Rule," was published, Mayor Hall had a sort of proclamation in the Herald, in which he undertook to "vindicate" his worthy colleagues, and to show that we were actuated only by "spite and malice." An attack on such men, according to his Honor, could only recoil on ourselves. Mr. Oakey Hall made some of his usual abortive attempts at wit in defending his accomplices. This fine performance of the mayor he had published as an advertisement, at the expense of the tax-payers, in all the city papers next day. The Ring papers, which, as already observed, included all save two or three at this time, accompanying it with editorials in which the Ring-leaders were lauded to the skies, and we abused for making "unfounded attacks" on such worthy men. In order to supply the demand for the article we had to issue several editions of it separately, in pamphlet form, and the announcement of each new edition was the signal for new torrents of abuse. In a word, every possible effort was made to crush ourselves and our journal; nor did our persecutions cease until the fraudulent accounts published by the Times, before the issue of our next number, had convinced the public that the worst charges made against the Ring-leaders were but too well founded. It was then sufficiently clear whether our attack was merely the result of spite and malice.

But we had proof enough long before that we need not entertain either spite or malice, if our object was only to get money. We have remarked above, that at the time we assailed the Ring, there was scarcely a printing house in the city, of considerable extent, which the malefactors did not control in one way or another. Accordingly our article was scarcely in type when our office was honored with several visits from Mr. Dudley Field, who, not finding us in, invited us by letter to a conference at his residence The acknowledged object of this conference was to purchase the Review, or in the event of our being unwilling to sell the whole, to purchase as much as would give the purchasers the right of associating with us another editor, who would have the same right as we to determine what subjects should be chosen for discussion in the Review, and what contributed articles should be accepted or rejected, etc. Had we no higher object than to make money, here we had, in fact, an opportunity of becoming rich in one week; but we refused either to suppress the obnoxious article, or to sell for any amount our right to publish similar articles whenever we thought proper; and so had to bear the brunt of the vilest persecutions for about three months, when, fortunately for the public at large, as well as for us, the power of our enemies had passed away like an exhalation.

Nor did our experience with the Ring malefactors prevent us from giving our opinions as freely as ever in regard to the so-called "reformers" at the approach of the next municipal election. The article entitled "Our Candidates as Reformers, Genuine and Spurious," published in our number for September, 1872, will show how much we had been frightened by all the base attempts made to silence us. In this article will be found our deliberate estimate of our present mayor. While even the Times was quite enthusiastic in his praise, we asked our readers to remember what Mr. Havemeyer had proved himself when mayor before, and did not hesitate to predict that the day would come when those who were now so delighted with the prospect of electing that gentleman, would rank him among the most stupid, most silly, and most incompetent mayors that ever were foisted on our citizens for their sins.

We need not ask, Was not this prediction literally fulfilled long since? His Honor is at this day regarded, by all save those on whom he has conferred office, as exactly what we described him in September, 1872. In the same article we portrayed Comptroller Green to the life, faithfully delineating every feature of his character as a politician of the smallest calibre; as one who, did he possess the same opportunities for feathering his own nest at the public expense, would do so quite on as extensive a scale, and with quite as little scruple as his predecessor Connolly, from whom he obtained office, and who well knew that he was eminently worthy of taking his place, although he also knew that on account of recent developments he would be too well watched for some time to come to enable him to sufficiently gratify his well-known greed and avarice.

While thus sketching the portraits of Havemeyer and Green, we did not forget another man who was candidate for another office at the same time, and whom we regarded as presenting a striking contrast, in every essential particular, to Havemeyer and Green. This one was General Dix, who, we reminded our readers, combined the qualifications of a statesman, a soldier, and a man of letters, and whose abilities and integrity had been proved to be beyond question. We were just as confident in predicting that General Dix would discharge his duties in a manner to give general satisfaction as we were in predicting that Mr. Havemeyer would give satisfaction to none except to those who profited by his imbecility and incapacity.

Now, who can say that we pursued either course for patronage, or for the lack of patronage ? We have never to this day asked the smallest favor of our worthy Governor for ourselves or anybody else, although he had not been many days elected when he wrote us a letter thanking us most warmly and courteously for our efforts in his behalf. And since we have asked no patronage or favor from one whom it would be an honor to be favored by, we think we need hardly say that we have never asked any of either Havemeyer or Green. Far from anything of the kind, we were quite aware, when depicting the character of the latter personage, that one effect of it would be to prevent our receiving some $5,000 due to us by the City, as long as he is in power, whereas we had received more than one intimation that, if we "did the right thing," our claim would be readily paid. But we preferred to do without it for ever if we could not get it in spite of Green, rather than remain silent when we knew that the City was never more grossly imposed upon by any comptroller—not excepting even Connolly—than it was by "*honest* Andy Green." Accordingly, in June, 1873, when the new government had had ample time to develop its true character, we wrote and published the article entitled "Our Wonderfully Reformed City Government."* In this paper we showed that our predictions in regard to Havemeyer and Green, and the sort of persons the worthy twain would be likely to associate with them as our rulers, had been fully verified. Nor did we fail to give outlines of the characters of some of the worthy men nominated by the mayor for important offices, including Mr. Oliver Charlick, of whom we gave nearly a life-size, faithful likeness, which would have been a sufficient commentary by itself—quite a ludicrous one—on the pretended reformatory plans and intentions of Mayor Havemeyer. Was all this done on our part for patronage, or lack of patronage?

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*N. Q. R., No. LIII.

But let us give another illustration or two of our peculiar mode of seeking patronage. No doubt it was with this object that we visited all the principal Lunatic Asylums in the United States. Some idea may be formed of the time, labor, and money we devoted to this subject, by our article entitled "The Insane and their Treatment, Past and Present"* It was perhaps only in the hope that the unfortunate inmates of those institutions would in time be able to give us patronage, that we did all in our power to ameliorate their condition! Some asylums we criticised as severely as we were able, regarding them as no better than prisons; whereas we commended others as conferring honor on those who had charge of them, for their humane and intelligent treatment of the insane. Of course, the secret of the distinctions we made was that the heads of some asylums gave us patronage while the heads of other asylums refused to do so! although if any of them gave us, directly or indirectly, as much as one dollar, or one dollar's worth, we have never learned the fact to this day.

One more illustration of our depravity in this matter and we close our little episode, and proceed with our main subject. More than once we occupied a whole month in visiting the principal prisons in the United States. We visited those of Kentucky, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, as well as those of New York and Pennsylvania. In several instances we were accompanied by leading State and municipal functionaries, who stayed with us many hours, conducting us from one cell and one work-room to another, until we had seen everything we wished to see. This was the case, for example, at the celebrated Cherry Hill Penitentiary at Philadelphia, where we spent a whole day; we spent another day at Sing Sing, another at Auburn, etc.; and the governors or wardens of those prisons in distant states which we were unable to visit, not only politely furnished us their printed reports, but favored us with their views in writing—generally the results of long experience—on prison discipline. If the reader will turn to the number of this journal for December, 1863, he will see a specimen of our mode of treating this class of subjects.*

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* N. Q. R., No. XIV.

In this article, also, we criticised freely in some instances; in other instances we expressed our approbation in the strongest language we could use. In short, there were contrasts enough in that paper; in one page we described instruments of torture still in use at that time; in another we described the *modus operandi* of woman-flogging recently practised. From scenes like these we turned with gratification to prison libraries, prison reading-rooms, and prison teachers, and we could not help exclaiming most heartily: All honor to the noble philanthropic men and women who had taken such pains to alleviate the sufferings even of convicts!

But if we denounced the woman-flogging, and certain other kindred performances of recent occurrence at Sing Sing, and two or three other institutions, while we had nothing but praise to bestow on the management of the similar institutions of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, it was only because the former would not advertise in the National Quarterly! whereas the latter were obliging enough to comply with our wishes in that particular! The head master of Sing Sing prison declined advertising on the ground that our journal was not much read by the parents and guardians of his pupils. We could not but admit the force of his objection, and yet, *mirabile dictu*, such was our depravity that we assailed his institution and his system of teaching almost as "fiendishly" as we did some of the military and non-military but Amazonian institutes on the Hudson whose head-masters might justly have made very nearly the same objection, namely: that very few, if any, of their patrons ever trouble their heads about any other reviews than those in which their sons or daughters are the parties reviewed, the reviewers being the reverend or non-reverend head masters, or brigadier-generals.*

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* N. Q. R., No. XV., Art. *Prison Discipline, Past and Present.*

Now we proceed to give our impressions in brief of the different kinds of educational institutions we have visited since our last issue. Again, we say truly, that it is much more in accordance with our disposition to use the language of approbation than that of censure. If we often use the latter it is because we know that still more severe criticisms than we make are often deserved, and because we are convinced that did we commend the bad and indifferent as well as the good, we should injure rather than serve the cause of education. It is as true of educational institutions as it is of books or works of art, that it is an injustice to those of real merit to place in the same rank with them those that have no merit. If the educational charlatan, or the pretender, instead of having his charlatanism or pretension pointed out, is praised the same as if he were a competent and faithful educator, or, indeed, praised at all, then where is the incentive to make as near an approach to perfection as possible? Nay, to rank the worst school or college with the best is to become an accomplice in deception and fraud; it is really no better, or less criminal in a moral point of view, than to recommend to the unsophisticated spurious money for the genuine coin, or to represent brass as gold.

These are the reasons why we criticise; we certainly do not do so through ill-will or malice. There is really not one head of an educational institution of any grade whom we have criticised, a hair in whose head we would injure to-morrow if the opportunity presented itself. At the same time we are well aware what a different report is made by the party criticised. The latter will have it that not only have we been guilty of "malice prepense" in their case, but that we have been bribed by those of whose institutions we have spoken in the language of approbation. This we most emphatically deny, without fear of contradiction, adding an observation or two by way of comment.

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* Every reader of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* remembers the passage in which the following piece of information occurs: "As we rode along the valley we saw a herd of asses; how they *viewed* and *reviewed* us!"

Editors, above all others, are expected to be ever ready to give their time and labor to all, without distinction; they alone, of all mortal tribes, must treat friends and foes alike. None expect the lawyer to plead merely for the love of pleading, or merely for the purpose of forwarding the cause of justice and equity. Even the judge is not ashamed to take pay from the state for dispensing justice on the bench. Still more remarkable, perhaps, is the case of the clergyman. There are not many of the clerical order, if any, who are willing to pray to God even once a week for their congregation without some little remuneration. Nor is the bishop, the archbishop, or even his Holiness the Pope, above accepting a little money occasionally for his services. Dross as it is in the eyes of these holy men, yet they like to have it. Again, the heads of educational institutions do not pretend to be equally interested in the education of the sons of parents who pay them and in that of the sons of parents who pay the heads of other institutions. If the president, head-master, or principal is not paid in due time, he does not scruple to send his bill, and if the case seems a doubtful or slippery one, he sometimes goes so far as to intimate that, if the money is not paid within a certain time, the delinquent may be prepared to have his son sent home to him, *causa inopiæ pecuniæ;* nor do we say there is anything wrong in his doing so.

From all this it might seem that we are defending what we practise ourselves. It is not the case, however; we defy any one to say that we have ever asked, charged, or accepted one dollar for anything we have said in our journal. Far from having ever charged any educator for giving our impressions in these pages of the merits of his institution, we have never asked one to pay our full advertising rates for the insertion of his prospectus; we have inserted such for as little as half price—sometimes, indeed, for less when the educator assured us that his funds were limited. No one, then, need envy us for what we receive in this way; or think there is any danger of our becoming unduly rich on what we derive from educational institutions, especially if it be taken into account how much time, labor, and money we devote to being well informed on a subject of such vital importance to the public. So much for the bribes which we receive or require from those whose institutions we commend.

Then, as to our ability to form an opinion of the relative merits or demerits of educational institutions, we think the intelligent reader who has never seen us, or who knows nothing of us personally, would be willing to admit that we ought to be able to do something for the cause in that way. But we have had sufficient experience, both as a private tutor in the classic languages, and as a professor in one of the most thorough colleges in the United States. This being a Catholic institution, it is particularly thorough in Latin, which is the language of the Church. We did not alone practise the students in our class—the graduating class—in translating those regarded as the most difficult of the Latin authors in prose and poetry; we practised them also in speaking the language of Cicero, so that they could, not merely converse in it fluently, but discuss any subject in it orally as well as in writing.

We certainly do not make these remarks in any spirit of egotism or pedantry; our sole purpose being to show, in order to do all the good in our power, that when we point out the merits of a particular institution, and the demerits of another, we do not take it upon us to intermeddle in things that are unfamiliar to us. In other words, it is for the sake of the effect of the facts we adduce in our educational discussions that we have alluded to our experience as tutor and professor while conducting this journal, and writing four fifths of its contents; we have spoken of it exactly in the same spirit in which we have presented the episode at the beginning of this article.

It is true that we have never found it necessary to tell any educator worthy of the name, in Europe or America, whether the head of a school, academy, college, or university, what our experience was. Not one of this character has ever made the slightest objection to our hearing as many of his recitations as we wished; on the contrary, such have always made us welcome. Indeed, very few of any class have so far betrayed the true character of their institutions as to refuse to allow their classes to be seen. Of about five hundred schools, seminaries, academies, colleges, and universities which we have visited in Europe and America, not more than five or six showed thus that they were as deficient in manliness as they were in educational ability. We think there are but few of our readers who will not agree with us in the opinion, that there are scarcely any characters more contemptible than those who, while proclaiming to the world, not only that they give thorough instruction in all branches of human knowledge, but also that their institutions are unrivalled in excellence, have not the courage to allow any one competent to judge, who might criticise, see how it is they accomplish such wonderful results as they are constantly boasting of. It is the sort of cowardice indicated by the precept: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth"—especially that of the individual, who, being unfit for any decent business, if only on account of his laziness, devotes such talents as he has to counterfeiting the current coin of the commonwealth. We all know what a dread a person thus occupied has of the officers of the law. Need we say, that he regards every such officer whom he has reason to believe he cannot bribe as his natural enemy?

Upon the other hand, we may ask, in which of the numerous institutions we have visited, and in which we have been allowed not only to hear the classes recite to their teachers or professors, but also invited to examine them, have we abused that privilege by proposing any more difficult questions than they might be supposed, from the nature of their studies, to be fully prepared to answer? We think it would be generally admitted by those who have allowed us that privilege that, instead of making any attempt to puzzle, we have carefully abstained from proposing any questions which we thought could tend in the slightest degree to create any disagreeable confusion. We believe they would also admit that we are much more disposed to encourage the student by our remarks to him in class—by avoiding to make him feel, after he has done his best, that he has not acquitted himself well—than we are to make any display of whatever knowledge we may possess ourselves of what is recited. Moreover, in no instance do we ever ask to be permitted to examine any class or student; in other words, never do we propose any questions at institutions we visit, except we are requested to do so. It is hardly necessary to say that it is the best educators who are most courteous and liberal in this, as well as in other respects. We have on several occasions given illustrations of this fact; and we will show before we close that we never had an opportunity of giving a better one than during our last excursions.

Now, lest there may, perchance, be a few among our readers who think that the head of an educational institution can have any proper excuse for casting a veil of secresy about his classes by seeing that none visit them but those who are sure to praise them, or those who, if ever so well inclined to criticise, could evidently not do so, in any higher branch than the most ordinary rudiments, we will allude briefly to what is considered proper, in this respect, in the most enlightened countries of Europe, especially in those countries in which systems of education are confessedly brought to the greatest perfection. As to the great universities, whether those of the British Islands or the Continent, all who have made sufficient inquiries on the subject are aware that no intelligent person having any wish to observe their systems of teaching is ever prevented from doing so. Then, if we inquire who are the most eminent teachers—those whose schools have been most famous for their excellence—we shall find that in every case it is they who were most willing that they should be seen at their work by learned and unlearned. Take Pestalozzi, the great German educator, for example. The following extract from his biography by the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction will be sufficient to show what were the views and wishes of that justly famous teacher in regard to the visits of strangers to schools:

> "As many hundred times in the course of the year," says Ramsauer, "as foreigners visited the Pestalozzian Institution, so many hundred times did Pestalozzi allow himself, in his enthusiasm, to be deceived by them. On the arrival of every fresh visitor, he would go to the teachers in whom he placed most confidence, and say to them: This is an important personage, who wants to become acquainted with all we are doing. * * Hundreds and hundreds of times there came to the institution, silly, curious and often *totally uneducated persons*, who came because it was the fashion." On their account we usually *had to interrupt the class instruction*, and hold a kind of examination. * * I could adduce many such instances. It was nothing rare in summer for strangers to come to the castle four or five times *in the same day*, and for us to have *to interrupt the instruction on their account* two, three or four times."*

Pestalozzi did not merely welcome thus all intelligent men who came to see his classes; he periodically issued urgent invitations to all who took an interest in the great cause. The educator who ranks next to Pestalozzi is Johann Bernhard Basedow. The course of the latter in this respect was exactly the same as that of the former. Basedow, like Pestalozzi, was never in better humor than when visitors presented themselves, and wished to hear his classes recite. To one, as well as the other, it was all the same whence the visitors came. The following will serve as a specimen of the general invitations issued by Basedow:

> "We promise, under the penalty of contumely, that upon the aforesaid 13th of May, there will be in the Philanthropinum so much worth *seeing*, *hearing*, *investigating* and considering by the intelligent guardians of humanity in regard to schools, that it will be worth their while to be sent to us, by order of the German Diet from Copenhagen, St. Petersburg, and the most distant places, etc."†

The most eminent English and French educators present similar records; whereas, no educator of eminence belonging to any country would endanger his reputation, even though opposed in feeling to the presence of strangers, by refusing them admission, knowing that such a refusal would, under the most favorable circumstances, excite suspicion as to whether he ought not, after all, to be most justly ranked among the class who, conscious of their incompetence, conscious of the spuriousness of their pretensions, would submit to any accusations and inferences rather than permit themselves to be detected in their counterfeiting. In a word, the competent, faithful educator is very much like the honest citizen, who, having possessed himself of nothing belonging to his neighbor, has no objection to admit the officer of the law to his premises, though he have no formal search warrant; and the incompetent or pretended educator is equally like the dishonest citizen, who, conscious that he has in his possession something belonging to his neighbor, which he did not honestly come by, has a very decided objection to admit the officer of the law to his premises, even when he has a search warrant, duly attested and authenticated.

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* Karl Von Raumer; *Life and Educational System of Pestalozzi.*

†*Philanthropinist Archives.* See also *Life of Basedow.* By Karl von Raumer. Translated by Prof. Tilliard. London.

Certain interested parties are highly indignant because we are opposed to making all boys' schools "military institutes." They have told us in a thousand ugly forms, within the last three months, that our lack of appreciation of the military element only shows what an execrable taste and judgment we have. It may be that we are entirely wrong. Still we cannot help thinking that in general, military training should be left to the State, especially in a republic.* When military drill is practised in a school or academy merely as a mode of physical training, and as subordinate to the appropriate means adopted for developing the mind, and storing it with useful general information, we have no objection to it. And so we stated by implication, if not expressly, in the article in our last number, in which we devote some little attention to that subject. Thus, for example, instead of finding any fault of the military drill practised at Riverview Academy, Poughkeepsie, and at Mount Pleasant Academy, Sing Sing, we were rather pleased with it. But the reason was, that in either case it was not allowed to interfere in any detrimental way with the proper studies—literary or scientific—of the school. Indeed we found, on the contrary, that at each of these institutions, the military drill was conducted in such a manner as to render it to some extent a means of imparting even classical knowledge.

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* Vide Montesquieu, *Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*, c. 11; also, *De l'esprit des Lois passim.*

This may seem self-contradictory, but it is not so. Something we saw at Riverview and Mount Pleasant reminded us quite forcibly of Johann Bernhard Basedow and his famous Philanthropinum; but knowing that both Prof. Bisbee and Prof. Allen are as modest as they are thorough and faithful as teachers, we omitted to point out the resemblance in the article alluded to. Now, however, we will take that liberty, even at the risk of being detected by those gentlemen, but confine ourselves to a brief extract from Carl Von Raumer's Life of Basedow, already quoted, premising that the narrator in this case is Herr Schammel, himself a distinguished educator and critic; the occasion of the remarks we transcribe, being a visit which he made to the Philanthropinum.

> "First they played the commander game; altogether, some eight or nine; do you see, Charley, this was the way: First they all stood in a row, like soldiers. Herr Wölke was commander; he *commanded in Latin*, and they were to do everything that he said. For example, when he said *claudite oculos* they all shut their eyes; or *circumspicite*, and they all looked around them; or *imitamini sartorem*, and they all sewed like tailors; or *imitamini sutorem*, and they all drew out waxed-ends, like cobblers. Herr Wölke ordered a thousand queer things."*

The reader may now understand what we meant by saying above that in the two instances mentioned the military drill was made a means of imparting even classical knowledge. But it has been seen in the extract just given, that Her Wölke could be classical even as a tailor, or as a cobbler; and we are assured that he places the three characters in juxta-position to show that the "commander game" is no more necessary in a school for the education of boys or young men, than the

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* *Fritz's Journey to Dessau.* By Herr Schammel.

"tailor game" or the "cobbler game." Indeed, had it been otherwise the great educator to whom German scholarship owes so much would have violated one of his own fundamental precepts. "The aim of education," says Basedow, "must be to train a European (*i. e.*, an enlightened, cultivated person), whose life shall be as *harmless as useful*, and as *peaceful as it can be made by education*."* The best French and English authorities are unanimous in giving the same estimate of a true education. Thus, for example, Duclos has no finer or more truthful observation in all his admirable and useful writings than that, since we have all in our hearts the germs of virtues and vices, the best system of education must be that whose tendency is to choke the latter and to develop the former. †

Were it necessary to go farther back, and include both Pagan times and the Dark Ages, we could show that of all the great educators from the time of Anaxagoras, the teacher and friend of Pericles, to the time of Father Staupits, the teacher and friend of Luther, or to that of John Ascham, the teacher of Elizabeth, not excepting Erasmus of Rotterdam, there was not one who was not opposed to the introduction of military training into schools for the young—that is, into those schools to which the youth of the country are sent to be educated for the general duties of life. Even the great Spartan lawgiver made this distinction. The Spartans were successful in their wars as long as military instruction of all kinds was left in the hands of the government. When private individuals were permitted to open "military schools" for the purpose of making money by taking advantage of the military spirit of the people, the military art soon fell into contempt, so that instead of Sparta being made more powerful than ever by dubbing every school a "military school," that short-sighted, foolish plan really caused her overthrow. But even when

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* *Archives*, p. 16.

† "Nous avons tous dans le cœur des germes de vertus et de vices; il s'agit d'étouffer les uns et de développer les autres."—Duclos, *Considérations sur les Mœurs*, chap. xi.

Sparta was at the zenith of her power as a military state, what was her glory compared to the glory of Athens, which never recognized the term "military" (στρᾰτιῶτις) as having any proper application to her literary institutions? Is it not true, that the "military" Spartans and their greatest exploits would scarcely have been known in history to-day were it not for the intellectual genius of the non-military Athenians, whose precept on the subject under consideration was that to which Sallust gives such noble utterance both in his "Catalina" and "Jugurtha," showing in one, that physical strength we possess only in common with the lower animals, while the power of the intellect we possess in common with the Gods,* and showing in the other that the mind is the leader and rector of mankind.† Even in the so-called heroic ages, those who had any pretensions to intellectual culture scorned to give any further encouragement to the art of mutual slaughter among human beings than was necessary to preserve the State from invasion and civil strife. Hence it is that nowhere is Homer more eloquent, or more grand, than he is in the famous passage in the ninth Iliad, which Pope translates thus.

"Cursed be the man, and void of law and right,
Unworthy property, unworthy light,
Unfit for public rule, or private care—
That wretch, that monster, who delights in war."

But let us look, for a moment, nearer to our own time. The great European military nations of modern times have been France, Prussia, and Russia. When have any of these made their boys' schools "military institutes?" Prussia is now regarded as the chief military power of Europe; certainly no other nation surpasses her in the excellence of her military establishment. No armies in the world are more perfectly disciplined than hers. But look at her boys' schools, call them grammar schools, preparatory schools, or what you will, and see how many of them are called

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* Animi imperi, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum magis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est. *Cat.*, c. 1.

† Dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est. *Jug.*, c. 1.

"military institutes," or how many of them make military drill "a prominent feature." In short, no such burlesques on the military art as we described in our last number; no such as we shall have to allude to in this number, would be allowed by the government of Prussia more than by the government of France or that of England. When, therefore, we cheerfully admitted the excellence of Riverview Academy and Mount Pleasant Academy it was very far from our intention to admit that military drill was entitled to the slightest credit for any part of that excellence. What we did and do think is, that those institutions possess their characteristic merits not on account of, but, in fact, in spite of the military element—because, while the military element is merely used as a means of physical development, the usual branches proper to a respectable academy at the present day are carefully and faithfully taught.

Upon the other hand, we could not help feeling more or less disgusted with such "military" concerns as those of Peekskill, Tarrytown, Yonkers, and Claverack, because at these the military element was regarded so much as the great thing—just what schools were originally designed for!—that it reminded us of the fable of the town in danger of a siege; when, the various persons who had axes to grind being allowed to give their opinions as to the best material for a fortification, on its coming to the turn of the leather-dresser, that thrifty personage gravely said: "Gentlemen, you of course may do as you like, but if you want to fortify the town so that we may all be safe, with our wives and children, as well as our property, *there is nothing like leather.*"

Had there been so large a proportion of the indifferent and bad among the institutions we visited since our last issue, as we had found among those of the Hudson, we could not have proceeded thus far in the present article without having made criticisms. It affords us sincere pleasure to say that such has not been the case. At the same time, we would not seem for a moment to do injustice to the noble Hudson; for none are more willing than we to admit that it has institutions on its banks which are worthy of it in depth and breadth, and in invigorating, purifying qualities. In proof of this it is almost sufficient to mention Manhattan and Poughkeepsie, Sing Sing and Fort Edward; for these few present as good a specimen of a College, as good a specimen of an Academy, and as good a specimen of an Institute as we know in this country.

We are here reminded that many friends of education whom we have never seen, while warmly thanking us for our criticisms on some of the institutions on the Hudson, have asked us why we have passed over the Catholic female institutions of the Hudson. Some Protestants who have had their daughters at the Sacred Heart and Mount St. Vincent have written to us rather feelingly on this subject, saying that, although the two pious but thrifty institutions mentioned may not have advertised the salt water of the Hudson, they possess several features in common with the great Tappan-Zee seat of learning, if not still uglier features. To this we can only reply, that we have not "passed over" those institutions through fear either of Jesuits or politicians. And let those who doubt the fact turn to an article of ours entitled "New Catechism for Young Ladies—Gods and Goddesses."* This, we think, will show how much foundation there is for the insinuation that we are "frightened by a cloak of sanctity;" and if it be not sufficient we can refer the curious to certain other criticisms in other articles and numbers. But having so lately fully described the sort of pabulum furnished at the Sacred Heart and St. Vincent, we thought it would hardly be necessary to do so again for some time. This, and this only, was our motive in omitting even to mention either in the paper alluded to.

Our first care in April was to visit such of the educational institutions of New Jersey as we found willing to permit us. There was not one whose principal or president had not read our paper on the Schools of the Hudson, yet in not a single instance, so far as we proceeded, was any objection made to our seeing the classes at their recitations. It would naturally be expected, then, that the teachers of New Jersey perform honest, faithful work; and such, in general, is really the fact. There are, indeed, some queer schools in New Jersey—some that are nearly as amusing in the immense disproportion between their pretensions and their performances as any we had hitherto seen. But the number is very small; certainly not more than one out of ten. Nor is it Jersey, but New York, that is to blame for these. This may seem a paradox at first sight, but one remark will render it sufficiently intelligible. Many wonder what becomes of those New York "educators" who, being found incompetent to teach in our common schools, in spite of their political friends—sometimes by reason of their ignorance of the grammar of their native tongue—are obliged to withdraw. We did not know ourselves until lately that quite a considerable proportion of this rejected class open institutions in the country, which they decorate with all sorts of pompous names, and whence they issue prospectuses assuring the soft-headed class always ready to believe such things, that no institutions anywhere approach theirs in excellence. We have met one or two of this interesting species in New Jersey, to which we may refer more particularly before we close; but, with these exceptions, there are none of those we had time to visit which do not justly deserve to be ranked as they claim themselves. We are quite aware that this is high praise, but were we not as willing to commend where commendation is merited as we are to censure where censure is merited, we should have no just claim to the character of a critic.

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* N. Q. R. for Sept., 1872, No. L.

The first institution we visited was Bordentown Female College, whose twenty-first Annual Catalogue is now before us. We had never seen this before, nor had we had any personal acquaintance with Rev. Dr. Brakeley, its president. We had, indeed, heard of both, and the reports we had received from time to time were always favorable. We found the doctor at his post. There were none of our criticisms on educational institutions, male or female, which he had not seen; but although he has spent some forty years in the class-room—grown gray in teaching—he had not the slightest hesitancy to show us how he performed his work, and to point out to us some of its fruits.

The College buildings are in the most attractive suburb of Bordentown, situated on the bank of the Delaware, of which they command an extensive view. There are also seen from the windows—besides the grounds of the late Joseph Bonaparte, in the immediate vicinity, and now become somewhat classic—Penn's Manor, the city of Trenton, and a large extent of country on both sides of the river, which, while beautifully fringing that fine sheet of water near the town, forms quite a series of agreeable landscapes. The College grounds proper are abundantly spacious, and the tall shade trees and light shrubbery are so gracefully blended in their effect as to remind the traveller in Europe of some of those garden deer parks in which the children of the lordly owner may disport themselves among the fawns, with as little fear of being disturbed, or even gazed at by rude eyes, as when they are in their father's drawing-room. The buildings are well calculated for their purpose. The lecture-halls are large and well fitted up; the principal one is so situated that the students can see from their desks the bright, lively ripple of the Delaware.

All the class-rooms are well ventilated, comfortable and cheerful. In every part of the buildings there is an abundant supply of gas and hydrant water. But what pleased us most among the various advantages by which the students are surrounded at this institution, and by which they are gradually led to regard study as attractive, rather than irksome, are the various collections for illustrating mineralogy, geology, botany, entomology, etc. We were also glad to find the college in possession of an extensive variety of apparatus, and good instruments for illustrating natural philosophy, chemistry and astronomy, including a refracting telescope, which may well excite the envy of many a pretentious male college.

It is the teaching, however, which determines the character of the college or school; and in the present case we found it at once a good test and capable of standing the severest test we could apply to it. Perhaps we cannot give most of our readers a more correct idea of the high standard of education at Bordentown Female College, in the brief space at our disposal here, than by remarking that while Dr. Brakeley conducted us from one class-room to another, the male educators of young ladies, whom he recalled to our mind most vividly, were the accomplished heads of the Gannett Female Institute, Boston, and of the Poughkeepsie Female Academy, respectively. Two of the chairs at Bordentown are filled with distinguished ability by Rev. J. D. Sooy, A.M., professor of Ancient Languages, and Dr. Eball, lecturer on Natural Science. Of the female instructors we take the liberty of mentioning the names of Miss Sue White, preceptress and teacher of history and geography; Madame Holbrook, teacher of French and music, and Miss Agnes Walker, teacher of English branches, as having impressed us highly by their qualifications and abilities as instructors. But we should be wanting in taste, and in appreciation of the beautiful did we omit to say how much sincere pleasure it afforded us to visit the department of drawing and painting, under the direction of M. Alphonse T. Poichet, whose class is one of the largest and best instructed it has been our privilege to meet, busy together at their easels, in all our excursions.

It is not generally known beyond the confines of New Jersey that in the small, but pleasant and highly salubrious, village of Pennington are two educational institutions of considerable magnitude, each performing an amount of good annually, whose influence is felt throughout the State. One is the Pennington Seminary and Female Collegiate Institute; the other the Pennington Institute. In each, both sexes are educated in the same classes, and, so far as we could learn from the inhabitants of Pennington and the adjacent towns, it is universally admitted that no bad consequences have resulted from the system. We have visited both schools, and nothing was concealed from us at either which we wished to see, or concerning which we desired to obtain information. We have spent hours in the class-rooms of each, being made cordially welcome by principals and professors. On the present occasion, however, we can only give our impressions of one, but we have accurate notes of what we saw and heard at the other. These we shall carefully preserve for use in our next number; and whatever additional, well-authenticated information we may obtain in the meantime, we shall not fail to embody in our estimate of the Institute as a whole, cautiously allowing it to modify our present views in one way or the other, according to its importance. Suffice it to say now, that Prof. Lasher impressed us as one having both the wish and the ability to perform his work faithfully.

The passer-by, who knew nothing of Pennington Seminary, and, therefore, could judge only by its large buildings and extensive grounds, would be much more likely to regard it as a college than as a preparatory school; nor would he readily discover his mistake if he entered the institution and were permitted to visit the class-rooms. And the more thoroughly he might be acquainted with the general run of our numerous colleges, the more difficult it would be for him to learn from what he saw and heard, that, after all, he was not in a college; but if a tolerably good judge, one disposed to give honest, unpretending merit its due, he would not hesitate to say at the close that, if it be not a college, it is really better than many colleges that make high pretensions. At all events, these, with but slight modification, were the thoughts that occurred to us during our visit of several hours to Pennington Seminary.

Prof. J. A. Dilks, the principal, is quite a young educator to have charge of so large an establishment, being apparently not more than about thirty, but he has the good sense and understanding, as well as the culture, of a man of fifty. Another good reason for his being at the head of the Seminary is presented by the fact that he may be regarded, himself, as its model alumnus. For many years it had no better student, and finally he withdrew from it for a while only to enter an advanced class, and graduate in one of our best colleges. Men of this stamp are the best heads for educational institutions. There is no danger that such will be afraid to have their work seen, and judged by its fruits. We were present at the recitations of half a dozen classes in as many different studies, including languages, ancient and modern, the sciences usually studied at such institutions, and the English branches; we witnessed, in turn, the instructions of male and female pro fessors; and we can truly say that, in a single instance, we did not see or hear anything which it would not be both hypercritical and ungenerous to criticise. The school which Pennington Seminary chiefly resembles in its most characteristic features is Fort Edward Institute. Those who know the latter will understand that this is a high compliment to the New Jersey school; but it is not more than it eminently deserves. Nor do we think the veteran of Fort Edward would deem it at all derogatory to him—if acquainted with Pennington Seminary—to have Professor Dilks compared to him as an educator, making all due allowance for the difference in experience and age. It affords us unfeigned pleasure, therefore, to extract from the thirty-second annual catalogue of the Seminary (that for the year ending July 10, 1873) the following passage:

> "We enter upon the present academic year under new and highly favorable auspices, having railroad facilities direct to Pennington. The Seminary buildings have been refitted and refurnished throughout, including carpet through the halls and in the rooms. These improvements have given to the Seminary a neat and home-like appearance, rarely to be found in boarding schools. We have selected the Faculty with unusual care, and we think they possess more than ordinary adaptation to the different departments of instruction. They are teachers of thorough culture and long experience; some of them, indeed, have attained to eminence in their respective departments. We are confident that we deserve the public patronage, and are equally confident that, if the public will take pains to ascertain our merits, they will give us their patronage."

In this there is no bombast, no charlatanism, but a true and sensible statement of facts. We make this remark, because, in nine cases out of ten, we find that the catalogues of those that *do* least of any value, or do most mischief, are those that *promise* all sorts of impossible things. This, for example, is but too true of an institution called Morris Female Institute; and, however much the ill-natured reader may doubt the fact—supposing that it rather amuses than grieves us to find people making fools of themselves and others—we are really sorry in the present case.

If we are not much mistaken, Prof. Charles G. Hazeltine, A.M., is the Mr. Hazeltine who, as a teacher in one of the New York common schools, used to elicit the jeers and sarcasms of the New York Tribune some seventeen years ago by his bad grammar. If it be the same Mr. Hazeltine that has become head of a great "Institute," unhappily, his grammar is as bad to-day as it was so long ago; at least, if it was worse then, when every corner grocer alderman was school superintendent, than it is now, it must, indeed, have been execrable; and still more execrable must have been his taste if it can be said that time and teaching young ladies for so long a series of years have made the slightest improvement in it.

We have visited the Morris Female Institute, and heard some of its recitations, but we decline to avail ourselves of the information thus obtained. It will be quite sufficient to transcribe a few passages from the catalogue, and make such remarks as they naturally suggest. Every thing here is in the superlative degree. The finely-tinted *brochure* opens thus:

> "The distinctive character of this institution *consists in the high degree to* which have been *combined superior* educational advantages, with the choicest home influences, and home accommodations."—(p. 11.)

It is needless to make any remark either on the syntax or the common sense of this. To point out "the high degree *to* which," etc., is quite enough. Then follow, in large capitals, "Educational Advantages." What these are we are informed thus: "*First of all*, *only* the most competent teachers are employed in *all* the departments." Teachers who are not capable of making a sensation at once by their superior learning and accomplishments will please not offer their services there. The next sentence runs as follows: "The principal, besides superintending *all* the departments of the school, gives a large share of his time to the instruction of classes, *and the benefit of more than twenty-five years experience in his profession.*"

We italicise the last clause in order to show how the grammar runs, or rather how it trips at every turn. What the thing means, according to the principles of the English tongue, is that Prof. Hazeltine gives a large share of his time to the instruction of classes, *and to the benefit* of more than twenty-five years," etc. The vice-principal is then described as nearly equal in sublime perfection to the principal. The former being a lady, we will make no comment in regard to her; it must be punishment enough for her to bear so clumsy a load of twaddle. But let our Priscian continue: "The mode of instruction is designed to be *thorough and effective in the highest degree.*" To be "thorough and effective" in any other degree than the highest would, of course, never do at Morristown. Our peerless educator has a great fondness for such fine phrases as "first of all," etc. "Pupils," he says, in the next sentence, "are taught, *first of all*, how to study," etc. Again:

> "The course of study embraces *all* the branches of a *thorough* English education, *combined* with the polite accomplishments, which, *in their combination*, give strength and dignity," etc.

It seems it is "the polite accomplishments" which, when combined after a certain fashion—by means of an amalgam, perhaps—gives strength, dignity, etc. Fond mothers need not fear, however, that their daughters will have to break their hearts in order to secure this wonderful "combination" of accomplishments. No; happily there is still balm in Gilead, as the following highly sagacious and humane assurance clearly shows: "A *multiplicity* of studies at one time, more than *can possibly be studied* with any profit, is not *encouraged* nor *allowed.*" We confess it somewhat puzzles us to form a definite idea of the number of studies which should be regarded as a multiplicity; but probably the young ladies' mothers are better versed in that sort of ciphering than we can pretend to be. Be this as it may, it is consoling to know that what is *impossible* will not be *allowed!* Thus, for example, the quadrature of the circle is said to be impossible; therefore it will not be allowed at the Morris Female Institute.

But, after all, the most important "feature" of the institution is its strongly impregnated aristocratic atmosphere. The very essence of "style" is to be found there, and it seems there only. The *ton* of the professor's family is a model of all that is grand and elegant. What a comfort it is to know that, for a certain paltry amount of money, all who come wearing female garments of a certain cut are admitted to inhale this enchanted atmosphere! As this may seem one of those stories "too good to be true," we quote from the head master:

> "They are received into his family on terms of perfect *social* equality, sitting at the same table, and worshipping at the same family altar. Frequent opportunities are given for *social* intercourse, regulated, however, by *the usages of refined society.* With teachers of high *social* cultivation, and pupils coming from families who are accustomed to the refinements of *social* life, it is evident that a family thus organized *must* afford excellent opportunities for *social* improvement. Add to these the perfect order and system of a boarding school, its freedom from *various* interruptions, and the *minute attention* which is given to *all* the wants of the pupil *by conscientious teachers*—circumstances *indispensable* to her progress, but which *very few private* families *and large institutions* are able wholly to provide—and it is obvious that such a school *must* afford the *highest facilities* for general improvement."—(pp. 12, 13.)

In about half of this brief passage the handsome word *social* occurs five times! What an inestimable privilege the young ladies entering that more than double-refined family have! This "minute attention" to *all* their wants "by conscientious teachers" evidently cannot be valued too highly, although but one of the numerous agencies used in Mr. Hazeltine's wonderful process of sublimation, and yet, some how or other, no female students we have seen in a long time recalled to our mind so forcibly the line of Virgil:

Multa movens animo *Nymphas* venerabar *agrestes*,* etc.

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* Æ. iii., 34.

Of course no such pretensions are made either by Bordentown Female College or Pennington Seminary. And whatever are the pretensions of the two latter, they are put forward in modest, sensible, grammatical language; and, what is still more, they are fully borne out by the work done. There is an institution, however, which the Morris Female Institute resembles in all its characteristic features—namely, the Rockland Female Institute. We do not know whether the former changes its name in summer, like the latter, although we are quite aware that one as well as the other takes in as many summer boarders as it can. This, however, we should not blame either head master for, if he did his work as a teacher faithfully, and gave the young boarders, as well as the old, good, wholesome food. As it is, we think that *Plasma-Oikia* is quite as appropriate a name for the one as Tappan-Zee is for the other; nor would we urge that there was any violation of the fitness of things if both institutions adopted the former appellation, and had it duly inscribed or printed in Greek letters on their streaming banners.

We do not wish the least ill, however, to either house; all we ask is that they improve their ways, and be a little more modest, more truthful, and more grammatical in their pretensions. But whether we regard this as hopeless or not, it affords us sincere pleasure to proceed from Morristown, N. J., to Wilmington, Del. In the latter city is a quiet, modest institution, called the Wesleyan Female College, which is ably and judiciously managed by Rev. John Wilson, A.M. Had we seen no other part of this gentleman's educational work than his Catalogue, it would at least have satisfied us that he possesses culture and good sense. It could be defective enough, we are aware, without containing any such bombastic twaddle as that last quoted. But let the reader compare the following extract from Prof. Wilson's catalogue with that we have extracted from Prof. Hazletine's catalogue on the same subject:

"The *advantages* to be derived from school are not merely the knowledge gained, but the acquisition of proper mental habits, the development and discipline of the intellectual faculties, and the formation of a character that will fit the pupil for duty and happiness in life. To secure these ends, labor alone, without order and good government, is unavailing. Hence, a wholesome discipline is always maintained. Firmness, tempered with kindness and forbearance, is its leading characteristic, yet care is taken to develop the power of self-government, and not to interfere, unnecessarily, with the buoyancy of youth. To do right because it is right, not merely because it is required, is constantly inculcated; and results in the development of womanly character and an attachment to teachers and school. No requirements are made but those found in well-regulated families; while the intercourse between teachers and pupils is such as to ensure the confidence necessary to the intellectual and moral progress of the pupils."—p. 20.

We quote from catalogues thus the same as we quote from books, in order to enable our readers to judge for themselves whether our estimates of them are right or wrong. Should there be those among our readers who think that one may be a good instructor of students—nay, capable of instructing teachers—while it is evident he sadly needs instruction himself, even in the most elementary branches, such will please to consider our remarks as not addressed to them. It may be interesting to those who read Scribner's Monthly to know that the institution described in chapter XV. of "Katherine Earle," as La Fayette College, in the April number of that journal, is no other than that whose catalogue lies before us. As the authoress is a graduate of the college, one who had ample opportunities to form a correct estimate of the institution, and is abundantly competent to do so, we will extract a brief passage or two:

"President Humphrey was a northern man, a clergyman who had been for years a missionary in India—a mountain of a man physically, about whose summit, where the snow was beginning to fall softly, the sun nevertheless always shone. Keen, watchful, sarcastic at times, he yet bore an air of genial ease approaching indolence—to one who could forget his peculiar, restless dark eyes. He held the school in his great hand, and moulded it to his will, not by the pressure of a finger even, but through the belief unconsciously working in the minds of his subjects that within him was a power never exercised, because the present occasion was always too insignificant, but which was mighty and irresistible."

The best and most complimentary part of this description applies to the gentleman now in charge of the college. But we snatch another fragment:

> "The senior among the professors, by reason of years, long residence, and his position as instructor in the dead languages, was Professor Paine. He, too, was a retired clergyman, but of another mould and stamp. He was timid and precise in manner, thin and brown of appearance, dressed invariably with scrupulous neatness in ministerial black, and was *remarkable* mentally for *his clear convictions of duty*, and his *knowledge of Latin and Greek*, as well as for his quiet persistency in maintaining his position in regard to either."

It is true that the part of this we have italicised is as characteristic of President Wilson as any part of the former extract. At all events, we can truly say that we have seldom spent two or three hours more agreeably than those so politely and kindly occupied by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, in conducting us from one class-room to another, until we had become quite familiar with his whole system—a system which compares favorably with that of any of the best similar northern institutions it has been our privilege to see in operation.

We can devote space in this article only to one other female institution which we have recently visited—the Gannett Institute, Boston. Fortunately, it is not necessary for us to give any description of this here. Our readers have our impressions of it in full, in our number for June, 1873; but in April last we had the good fortune to be present by invitation, at the Institute, while the accomplished principal delivered two lectures, which pleased us so much that we requested permission to take an extract from each. Although the present paper has already transcended the bounds we had prescribed for it, we make room with much pleasure for a brief extract from each of these lectures, only regretting that it is not in our power to present sufficient to do justice to the author. In impressing on his students the importance of carefully studying great standard authors, in turn, rather than study a little of one and a little of another alternately, Prof. Gannett proceeds to give a fine analysis of the Homeric poems. The following fragment, snatched almost at random, can give but a faint idea of the value of the lecture as a whole:

"But in accounting for the charm of the Iliad and the Odysseys, we must note, above all, the argument, the plot, the great epic idea, the characters, and especially that grand feature, the character of Achilles. Its conception is the highest effort of the poet's genius, and on its delineation the richest resources of his art are concentrated.

"Nor must we overlook the fact that the men and women of these books are exhibited as real personages, although cast in a heroic mould, that they move, look, speak and act as they would in real life; the poet has completely identified himself with them, having mastered the springs of their spiritual mechanism.

"The episode of the shield of Achilles has held the classical student with more than a poetic interest.

"Were it relevant to our object, we should be glad to speak of the Homeric literature as the source of all our classical knowledge, and of the great loss to culture, should we turn away from those models which we have received from the Greeks alone.

"We would not exalt the æsthetic above the intellectual and the moral, but, tracing the stream of civilization to the Homeric period, we find that our own best works have upon them the impress of that gigantic mind which moulded and formed the Greek nation.

"While we cannot go back to the Pagan world for the substance of our literature, we must even go back there for the forms of beauty, divested of which the highest truths would be comparatively powerless.

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"Thus viewed, these poems are like a noble cathedral, whose every part contributes to the perfection of the whole, and pillars, arches, statues, bas reliefs, carving, tracery, turrets, and pinnacles, harmonize with the one purpose to lift the beholder to a conception of the invisible and the infinite."

The second lecture has for its subject the culture which is most appropriate for woman. This affords the professor an opportunity of giving his views, as it were, parenthetically, on a subject which fortunately is not quite so exciting now as it was some time since.

We cheerfully make room for the following, only remarking that our readers will see that the views of Mr. Gannett are in complete accordance with those which we have been advocating ourselves for fifteen years past in these pages:

"III. There is implied in this culture a love for home.

"In blessing and adorning the home—in filling it with light and sweetness—in making it a seminary indeed—a garden in which may be found the most beautiful plants, the noblest trees and flowers—flowers whose fragrance shall savor of Paradise—in such service you will fulfil the highest and sublimest of earthly callings. And here you will have use for the choicest fruits of the severest mental discipline and the broadest culture which you may have attained.

"To what are our greatest men and women—the world's benefactors—so much indebted as to their mothers' and sisters' influence upon their whole nature during the earliest period of their existence? Woe! woe!! to humanity when woman shall delight in any music so much as in the prattle of childhood, or when she shall exalt any employment above the care and Christian nurture of the babe; and, although a mother's or a sister's love and tenderness may not be subjected to a material analysis, we may clearly perceive in it the elements of light and heat which constitute the forces that are vital to the highest life and advancement of our race—forces which are more potent than the eloquence of the pulpit or the forum. In opposition to the lessons of physiology, psychology, experience, and common sense, I shall never seek to vindicate for man or woman claims which God has not sanctioned.

"But, young ladies, you will allow me to give you counsel. Each morning of your future lives, kneel before your Maker and acknowledge Him to be the Lord of heaven and earth, and thank Him sincerely and heartily that he has made you a woman. And that you are a woman, and not a man, settles it forever in your minds that you have some duties to render which belong to you exclusively as women."

Brief as these extracts are, they are sufficient to explain how it is that the author of the lectures in which they occur, instead of being afraid to allow even those supposed to be most prone to criticise to hear his recitations, invites and strongly urges them, from time to time, to do so. But a still more satisfactory explanation, if possible, would be found in his Catalogue, especially if it were compared with that of the Plasma Oikia or the Tappan-Zee House.

During our recent excursions we had time to visit only two Pennsylvania institutions. These we merely called at on our way between New Jersey and Delaware. It is but fair to say that no Pennsylvania institution has refused to allow us to see its classes since our somewhat memorable exposé of the Provost Stillé affair. The case of this great educator has had a most potent effect in this respect, for we have now on file at least a dozen invitations from colleges, academies and seminaries in all parts of that great State. We appreciate the courtesies of all, and shall not fail to avail ourselves of them as soon as possible; and we trust we need hardly say that we shall not be the less willing to do them justice on account of their belonging to a state in which it has been our pleasure, for many years, to number some of our best, most intelligent and most honorable friends.

The two institutions which we lately visited are the Pennsylvania Military Academy, at Chester, and the Rugby Academy at Philadelphia. It is true that we had formerly visited La Salle College and the Polytechnic College in the Quaker City, been made welcome at each, and found each performing its work in a manner fully commensurate with its promises and pretensions. Indeed, nowhere have we visited a college, academy or high-school, conducted by the Christian Brothers, which we did not find honest and faithful—fully equal to its claims; and we should discard our Protestantism for ever if it were a thing to prevent us from giving a fair and just report of the useful and beneficent work of those who are not Protestants. But fortunately, whatever may be the faults of Protestantism, this paltry sort of intolerance or bigotry is not one of them; on the contrary, were it to pass out of the world to-morrow—of which, however, there is no danger—those most opposed to it, if men of intelligence and candor, would concede to it the proud and noble distinction, that it has ever been in favor of the fullest development of the human mind.

We must indulge in no more digressions in this paper. Nor can we devote much space or time to the Pennsylvania Military Academy; but we have careful notes of what we saw and heard there, which will be as good three or six months hence as they are now. There is no reason why we should have any other feeling toward Col. Hyatt, the head of the Academy, than one of kindness and good-will; and we really have not. It is not because the colonel is in the least blood-thirsty that he styles his school "The Pennsylvania Military Academy." His good-natured, jolly face, his ponderous, alderman-like form, and his genial though somewhat flurried manners, would fully acquit him before any honest jury of all love for human carnage. Nothing of that kind, we can assure our readers! We think we do not praise him at all unduly, when we venture to say that, if it became fashionable and profitable to-morrow to introduce certain ladies' wares into boys' schools, the colonel would not hesitate to substitute for the present legend on his banner, "The Pennsylvania Hoop-skirt and Artificial Bosom Collegiate Seminary." And, what is more, we honestly think that, in the event of such a change taking place—by no means so radical a one as might be supposed—"the accessories"—that is, the additional studies which are said to prepare the "cadets" for Provost Stillé's class in the University of Pennsylvania—would scarcely be of any lower grade than they are at present. We confess that, in approaching the grand entrance to the institution, we could not help asking ourselves, whether the empty, dilapidated fountain in front, with its Dutch cupid standing uneasily on a clumsy, rusty iron bar, could be regarded as emblematic of how things were done inside; for the grotesque figure alluded to seemed to us as if it would say to the colonel:

> "Abi; stultus, post tempus venis."*

As to what we saw and heard in the class-rooms, probably the less said about it the better. Suffice it to remark that what it reminded us of most forcibly was the following observation, once made by an eminent educator under somewhat similar circumstances: "There are judicious parents, and silly ones; the judicious ones say the mother bore the child; the silly ones that the stork brought it."

We have listened to the recitations at Rugby Academy, Philadelphia, for hours, in compliance with the wish of its principal, Prof. Edw. Clarence Smith, A.M. So striking is the contrast between this and the Pennsylvania Military Academy, that we cheerfully admit it is worthy of bearing the name of one of the oldest and most famous classical schools in England. We do not mean that the Pennsylvania Rugby is equal to the English Rugby, although the former makes as near an approach to the latter as the American Cambridge does to the English Cambridge, which is not a close approach, but a respectable, honorable approach. In other words, Harvard College is one of our very best institutions, and has a high standard of education; but it would be only a satire on it to say, by way of praising it, that it is equal to either Cambridge or Oxford, for any competent judge at home or abroad would laugh at any such pretension. It is sufficient as a *raison d'être* for the Philadelphia Rugby Academy if it compares favorably with the best academies, seminaries and institutes of Pennsylvania; and the simple truth is, that we do not know one in that large, populous and wealthy state that equals it in thoroughness and efficiency.

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* Plautus, *Capt.* iv. 2, 90.

The principal is a graduate of one of the leading New England colleges; his culture is of the best Massachusetts type; and we believe his chief assistant has received his collegiate training in the same atmosphere. Perhaps this will account for his courtesy to us, and for his confiding in us so far as not to be afraid that we would do injustice to his classes, or to his system of teaching, although whatever little education we may be said to have, we have received no part of it in any New England institution, nor were we born or brought up nearer to that favored region than thousands of miles. But it is the old story of Socrates, who would have every member of the Republic of Letters, not a citizen of any particular country, but a citizen of the world—the story so admirably compressed into one line by Virgil:

> Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo descrimine agetur.

This is the principle upon which we have always been treated by the scholars and thinkers of New England, whether we met them at home or abroad. We have, however, another reason for transcribing the above line, namely, that it occurred in one of the recitations we heard at Rugby Academy, and led to an interesting interchange of views on the subject of translating Virgil as compared to Horace and Juvenal. But it was not alone the Mantuan bard we heard well rendered at Rugby, but also Cæsar, Cicero and Sallust. The principal is himself at once a Roman and a Grecian, and, contrary to what most people think at the present day, he is not the less accomplished as a teacher of the mathematics, nor does he give the mathematics less prominence in his school on account of his familiarity with, and love for, the classic languages.

The scene changes now rather abruptly from Pennsylvania to Connecticut. Nowhere else in Europe or America have we found such a remarkable contrast between institutions purporting to be nearly of the same grade as in the latter state. In the quiet, thrifty town of Stamford the "Military" burlesque attains its culminating point. We wish we had only space and time to illustrate this curious phenomenon; but, alas! we have neither one nor the other, although the bare facts, without a word of comment, would form a picture sufficiently ludicrous. Many of our readers will doubtless learn now, for the first time, that Stamford may either rejoice or mourn, as she may deem most suitable, that she has two great military institutions, namely, the "Stamford Military Institute" and the "Betts Military Academy;" but as the twain are as much alike as two heads of cabbage growing in the same garden, we may devote the little time and space we have now left for that sort of thing to one. It is not hard to choose in such a case, and therefore we do not hesitate to take up the Stamford Military Institute.

For some two years we had been in the habit of receiving curious letters in regard to this establishment. Many a time we had been assured that a visit to it would amply repay ourselves and our readers, in fun, if in nothing better. Finally, very soon after we issued our last number, we took our seat, one fine morning, on the New Haven train, and in due time we arrived at Stamford. Three or four colloquies ensued, of which the following may be regarded as faithful specimens: "Sir, will you be good enough to direct me to the Stamford Military Institute?" The gentleman paused, looked a little puzzled, and scratched his head. "I would do so with pleasure, but I have lived here for fifteen years, and must confess I never heard before that we had such an institution. Can you direct the gentleman, Mr. M—— ?" Mr. M. was scarcely less puzzled than his interlocutor, but after looking at the ground for a moment or two, and then at the top of the tallest building in the vicinity, he suddenly exclaimed, with a laugh, "Why, he means Wilcox's school! Is that the name, sir ?" "Thank you. I confess I cannot say as to the name; I am looking for a good school." "But must it be a military school ?" Before we have time to answer a third gentleman remarks, "We are fortunate enough here in regard to female schools, but whenever I am asked for a good boys' school—that is, first-class—I have to direct the inquirer to Norwalk. I don't know Mr. Selleck from Adam, but I am assured that his is the best school in Connecticut." "Why," interposed Dr. G——, with a sarcastic smile, "do you forget our Dotheboys Hall ? Have we not a Mr. Wackford Squeers amongst us ?" "Yes," says Mr. M., in the same vein, "but his patrons are not here. It is not we that support or encourage him. All that is done by New Yorkers, who, having much more money than brains, think that the *summum bonum* in the way of education for their sons is to wear a suit of gray and brass buttons !"

All this, we are aware, does not show that we made much progress in our researches, but such was the fact. Finally we visited the book-stores and post-office, but at neither could any one tell us anything definite about the great military institutions. However, just as we were leaving the post-office, a young gentleman there said, pointing to Governor Minor, who was just crossing the street, "That's just the man you want to see; he can tell you all about it." We proceed accordingly. "I beg your pardon, Governor; I come from New York, and am inquiring for a good school; will you be kind enough to direct me ?" "With pleasure. We have some good female schools here. Miss Aiken's I think highly of; my own daughter is a boarder there. Then our common schools are very good for boys." "But, Governor, what of the Stamford Military Institute?" "Oh, yes, yes. You are right; the Military Institute is very fine, indeed—very fine!" We understood this "very fine" perfectly, thanked the Governor for his courtesy, apologised for interrupting him, and passed on.

But the most humorous estimate of all we received from a lady, who is herself a teacher of young ladies. We begged leave to inquire of her, as we did of others, if she would be so obliging as to direct us to a good school for boys. "Certainly," said she, "there is an excellent school—at Norwalk." "Don't they teach the cadets well at the Stamford Military Institute?" "Oh, yes—hem—they teach them after a fashion. Some, however, complain bitterly of them; others laugh at them heartily. For my own part, I think them very harmless people. They keep the boys out of harm's way, in the back rooms or back yard. They teach them to walk a great deal, sometimes with guns or large clubs, sometimes without guns or clubs. Indeed, this seems to be their chief work from morning till night, so that, were it not for a certain cracked kettle-drum and a squeaking fife, that have become famous, or rather infamous, over the neighborhood, the wonder would be how about twenty-five New York boys—cadets, I mean!—could be kept so quiet." "They prepare for college there, do they not?" "Of course they do; but how, or when, God only knows—I don't! As I intimated a while ago, those who are the best judges of such things send their sons to Norwalk or New Haven, but generally to Mr. Selleck's School. This is true, for instance, of Mr. Lockwood, Mr. Williams, Mr. Holly, and Mr. Waring. In short, if there be too much marching and counter-marching in Stamford, don't blame 'the land of steady habits' for it, but the shoddy tribe of New York City. As I must tell the truth, our sensible people here despise such humbug."

At this stage of our researches two things seemed worse than doubtful—that is, whether it was worth while to visit the great Military Institute at all; and whether, if we did, we should have any chance of admission. As we had so often promised to go, however, we resolved to make the experiment. We find the "buildings" of the "Institute" to consist of a very ordinary two-story country house, the "grounds," so far as we could see, being rather limited even for so small a private residence. After a little hesitancy we ventured to pull the bell; in due time a cadet opened the door; we inquired for the head master, and we were directed to the parlor. We had been here but a few minutes when another cadet came to ask our name. Very soon we heard considerable bustle and some loud talk, as if something like a row had occurred in the great lecture room, or parade ground. About five minutes later "W. C. Wilcox, A.M., and Capt. W. A. Flint, principals," entered the room with a slow, measured pace, and as close to each other as if they were tied together like the Siamese twins. In the same deliberate, awfully grave manner they sat down beside each other, right opposite to the seat we occupied, but as far off as the limited extent of the apartment would admit. We did our best to maintain our gravity, for, in spite of the ominous looks of things, the scene seemed to us irresistibly ludicrous. For a minute or two the head-master seemed ready to burst like the frog in the fable. At last he commenced to question and cross-question us in a tone and manner such as one might expect who had attempted, only a few nights previously, to take the Military Institute by storm, for the purpose of robbing and plundering it—his first question being, were we the author of the paper on the Schools of the Hudson? The unhappy man got into a perfect rage, although we did all in our power to reassure him, telling him to be of good cheer, that we would hear no recitations against his will. It is but justice to Captain Flint to say that he did not utter a word all the time, or behave himself in any way unbecoming a gentleman; but if we can pretend to have any knowledge of physiognomy, he was as heartily ashamed of his colleague as ever poor Nicholas Nickleby was of Wackford Squeers. Be this as it may, we think the worthy head-master of Stamford Military Institute did not cease to scold us, fishwoman-like, until we were at least half a mile off!

We were curious to know whether our appearance would be equally terrifying to Miss Aiken, head of Gothic Hall School, already referred to. We found that Miss Aiken had carefully read every line of our criticisms on the Institutes of the Hudson, but we also found that she was not a whit the less willing on this account to let us hear any of her recitations that we had the least desire to hear; or the less disposed to treat us with the utmost courtesy. A similar feeling prompted us to visit Miss Nelson's school, at Bridgeport, known as Golden Hill Seminary. Miss Nelson, too, was entirely familiar with our criticisms. The result, however, was just the same as in Miss Aiken's case. Each lady introduced us to all her principal classes, Miss Nelson going so far in doing us honor as kindly and courteously to get up quite a handsome concert, both vocal and instrumental, for our entertainment. Such was our experience in visiting the schools of Connecticut, before it was our privilege to see that of the Rev. Mr. Selleck, at Norwalk. As for Yale College, that we had visited again and again years previously, having done so not only with the permission, but on the invitation of President Woolsey. Then, so far as we are concerned, the state of the case is that no educational institution, of any grade, in all New England, has ever made the slightest objection to our visiting it, with the sole exception of the Stamford Military Institute; on the contrary, there is not one of the many New England schools we have visited these twenty years past, at which we have not been made welcome, and courteously treated. But, as we have already intimated, this is in no other sense a New England school than that the "Institute" is situated there, just the same as Squeers' "Academy" is, or at least was, situated in Yorkshire.

We have, however, no quarrel with Mr. Wilcox. His conduct has not in the slightest degree disturbed our equanimity. If, personally, he has excited any emotion in us, it is really one of pity, not of anger—pity that he could not affect a little common sense for decency's sake, though he have it not. Doubtless he will think it strange that it was in vain he so churlishly refused us for a copy of his Catalogue; still stranger will it seem that it was in vain he tried to conceal, from the National Quarterly, his peculiar sort of educational work, for just one week after we called at the "Institute" a graduate of Yale entered as our confidential correspondent. Of course, he did not represent himself as being connected with any periodical—he entered only as one who would probably become a patron of the establishment, for he affected a very great love for brass buttons, brimstone, etc. We wish we could make room for his account of his experience in this matter; but it merely corroborates what so many had assured us, and confirms our own estimate of the head-master from what we saw of him. We cannot resist, however, giving a brief extract or two from the Catalogue, a copy of which has cost us more than the price of Bacon's "Novum Organum." Its style is exactly like that of Morris Female Seminary. First, we have a sort of autobiography—then the great "Design." Then we are plunged at once *in medias res* thus:

> "A long experience in the various methods of training boys has convinced the principals that *none of them* are at all *comparable to the Military.*"

By way of comment on this we beg leave to refer the curious reader to Act II, Scenes III and IV, of Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme.* There was a certain class then who had a great love for brass buttons and shoulder-straps as there is now. The comic dramatist admirably portrays the *Maitre d'Armes.* Just like the Stamford head-master, that doughty personage would have it that there was no science or art like his:

> "Et c'est en quoi l'on voit *de quelle considération nous autres nous devons être* dans un Etat; et *combien la science des armes l'emporte hautement sur toutes les autres sciences inutiles,*" &c., &c.

Before civilization had advanced so far as it has of late, it used to be said that the pen is stronger than the sword, with certain other absurd things to the same purport. But all that is changed; it has been discovered at Stamford "that *none of them are at all comparable to the Military.*"

But let us see what fine times the "cadets" have—how much they are to be envied by those not fortunate enough to be able to wear brass buttons and shoulder knots. We regret we can only make room for a small *morceau:*

> "The cadets and the families of the principals *constitute one common* domestic circle, sitting at the same tables, *sleeping under the same roof,* and kneeling together at one family altar. At frequent intervals the cadets are *welcomed into the family parlors* to meet invited guests for musical and social entertainment. It is also the constant aim of the principals *and their wives* to make the domestic life of the cadets as pleasant and attractive as possible, *while throwing around it the safeguards* of a Christian home."

What could be finer than this! We are willing to believe that the "domestic circle" is, indeed, "common" enough—nay, rather much so. To cap the climax, it might as well have been said that all, Gypsy-like, sleep in one bed ' What those "safeguards" are, which "the principals and their wives" *throw* around the cadets, had, perhaps, better be left to the imagination; brimstone, treacle, and hashed liver are, we would fain hope, none of them! And yet every thing seems to depend there on the size of the stomach, on that organ's powers of endurance, etc. Physiologists tell us that in youth the stomach increases in a certain ratio annually. It seems that this has come to the knowledge of the head master of the institution under consideration. Accordingly his charges are not graduated by the studies of the cadets, or the classes to which they belong, but as follows:

> "For boys of *twelve years,* or under, the charge for *Board and Tuition* is $400 per annum. For boys of *thirteen* years it is $425, and for boys of *fourteen* years, or older, $450."—*Cat.,* p. 8.

For our part, we do not pretend to wonder at this tariff; it is just what ought to be expected. Nor do we wonder at the "extras," which, if indulged in, bring up the price to a higher figure than is charged by any college worthy of the name in Europe or America. Naturally enough the "cadets" may be supposed to wish to learn to play some martial airs; accordingly the extra charge for music, "with use of instrument," is *only* $120 per annum. Even supposing it took four years to learn one good, appropriate tune at this rate—Samuel Lover's, for instance—would it not be cheap?

"Oh, there's not a *trade* that's going
Worth *showing*,
Or *knowing*,
Like that from glory growing,
For a bowld sojer boy!"

With this brief quotation we take leave of the Stamford Military Institute; but we wish no one to adopt our estimate of it, as a type of a large brood, any further than the facts and circumstances are found to prove the justice of that estimate. If, upon the other hand, we are wrong in regarding the tendency of this "military system" as pernicious to the cause of education—as savoring much more of barbarism than of civilization—as a thing that our people ought to grieve for rather than rejoice in and encourage—then even the worst of the "military" head masters we have sketched in these pages are the right class of educators. But we think that not many will judge the case thus; not one who is competent to judge; and until we are convinced of the contrary we will continue to oppose the spurious system to the utmost of our power, though with no more zeal than we shall oppose any other "new feature" in education, which we regard as equally a sham—"a delusion, a mockery, and a snare."

We had taken notes of a certain New York "institution," with the intention of giving our impressions of it in this number; but although we have promised several esteemed friends of education that we would do so, we find ourselves constrained by lack of time and space to postpone our criticisms for a future number. It is proper to say that we do not allude to any college, or university, or to any academy or school conducted in a modest, faithful manner; we allude to a concern that has a strong family resemblance to the Stamford Military Institute, and whose head master attains the sublime in impudence and arrogance, pretending that his Plasma-Oikia has no parallel in the educational miracles it performs nearer than France or Switzerland, and that even in these favored countries his institution is regarded as the very acme of perfection, if for no other reason than that he is a descendant of a very pugnacious, politico-religious sect, and gives his wonderful instructions, like the grace of God, in a dialect which he claims should supersede all other tongues, ancient and modern.*

Finally we reach the School of which we had heard so much. It was the last we visited in our recent excursions, and it is the last of which we give our impressions in this article. We have reserved it for the close, because it is a sincere gratification to us to conclude with an institution of which we could not speak, without being grossly unjust, in any other language than that of approbation. As it was the former patrons of schools we have criticised—patrons prompted by their indignation at being deceived and cheated—who requested us to devote some attention to them, so it was former patrons of Mr. Selleck's School—patrons prompted by their gratitude for the inestimable service it had done their sons—who requested our attention to the latter. Although those who described to us the Norwalk School, including ladies and gentlemen, belong to the most cultivated class in New York and Brooklyn, we thought that due allowance should be made for the zeal of fond parents and affectionate sisters. It was in accordance with a solemn promise thus exacted from us that we visited Norwalk. True, our curiosity had been so much excited, so strong an interest had been awakened in us by all we heard, that we were easily induced to visit the School. Had we needed a dozen letters of introduction we could have had them; but we did not take a line, nor a word, for we never do so. The event showed that in no instance had we less need for the like than in this. The Rev. Mr. Selleck had never seen us before, but he had seen the National Quarterly, and been fully aware that it was in the habit of criticising certain educational institutions. But, like all the first-class educators of our country, he did not receive us aught the less cordially on this account. His first remark on the subject of the recitations was that the more of them we heard, and the longer we staid in the class-rooms, the more agreeable would be our visit to himself and his assistants. This assurance we found fully verified before we left, as the intelligent reader will see.

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* This reminds us of a colloquy which we happened to overhear not many days since. "I say, squire," asks a countryman just arrived in the city, "can you tell me where's the Charleytan Institute?" "There is such a place, I believe," replies the "squire," "but I am sorry I can't direct you to it." There were certain other queer questions and answers, including one relative to New York "salt air," etc., but let these pass for the present.

The buildings and grounds are more extensive and better adapted for a college than those of many colleges we have visited. But the former are not excelled anywhere in neatness and judicious, tasteful arrangement. The bed-rooms are veritable models in everything that can contribute to comfort and health. Nor are the principal lecture-halls less attractive with their fine, large Gothic windows and stained glass, just admitting sufficient light, without a particle of that glare which is so hurtful to the eye. There are two or three towers, including an observatory, from any of which an extended view is had of the Sound, with its tiny islands, its capes and promontories, and, here and there, the swift, bustling steamers, as if chasing or running away from each other in gay disport. Indeed, from almost any door or window—from any part of the grounds—a scene presents itself which is in agreeable harmony with the studious mind.

The first specimen of the work of the School we had the pleasure of seeing was a translation by one of the classes of several passages in Cicero's oration in behalf of Licinius Archias. As this proceeded, we became more and more convinced that there was no exaggeration in the assurances we had received either at New York or Stamford. A word or two will recall to the intelligent reader's memory the peculiar character of this oration. Archias, being a native of Antioch, was brought to trial by a person named Gratius, with the view of having him expelled on the ground of his not being a citizen. It would lead us too far even to allude to the laws under which this suit was brought. Suffice it to say that wherever Archias was born, he was a man of superior learning and culture, and his best days and talents were devoted to the instruction of the Roman youth of the best classes. He cultivated poetry to some extent, and sometimes used it for the purpose of satirising those who seemed to him to deserve such chastisement. Whether he lampooned Gratius personally, does not appear, but the probability is that that insignificant person was but the tool of others whom the Greek scholar, educator and satirist had deservedly exhibited to public scorn. This affords the philosopher-orator a noble opportunity to vindicate the cause of literature and scholarship, and prove the priceless value of such superior intellectual culture as that afforded by men like Archias, and nobly did he avail himself of it. Among all the pleas made in behalf of scholars and literary men, there is nothing finer than that passage in which the orator reminds his audience of the exemplary conduct of Alexander the Great in always surrounding himself as much as possible with men of letters, without pausing to inquire in what country were they born, or to what nationality did they belong. In the same oration he boldly and eloquently says that if any one thinks the knowledge communicated by this so-called foreigner (*peregrinus*) was less valuable, or less conducive to true glory than that communicated by native Romans, he sadly errs (*vehementer errat*).

Before a word of this beautiful oration was translated, the professor required the students to give an analysis of the whole, and present all the facts and circumstances which formed the basis of the suit. Then followed one of the best renderings we have anywhere heard. At the close, the principal requested us to propose some questions. In order to comply with his wish, we did so; but in not a single instance was any confusion or blundering the result.

The next class to which we are introduced is that in Virgil, and the recitation happened to be in the sixth book of the Æneid. The simple truth, in brief, in regard to this is, that at no colleges in this country, except at Manhattan College Harvard, and Columbia, have we witnessed such accurate translating as we did here. When the recitation was over the principal requested that we would turn to any of the six books of the Æneid through which the class had passed, and have them translate such passages as we preferred. With this polite request also we complied, and had the pleasure of hearing nearly a hundred verses of the most difficult part of the third book excellently rendered.

The Greek class was next in order, and the author no other than the Prince of Poets. After we had listened for nearly an hour, with most agreeable surprise, the Rev. Mr. Selleck kindly insisted on our taking old Homer into our own hands and directing the attention of the class to any part of the first six books we might prefer to hear them translate in, as in the Virgil class. This, as we remarked, we thought too severe a test—an ordeal, indeed, through which few college classes could pass unscathed; and accordingly we requested the students to translate a portion of the first book. We questioned them, also, on some of the Homeric idioms, the peculiar use the great poet makes of the article, of certain partative pronouns, etc., and had the gratification to see that not one of our questions proved to be in the least puzzling.

Although our practice in geometry for the last twenty years, or more, has not been sufficient to enable us to examine the more complicated theorems and demonstrations in that beautiful and useful science, critically, at the present day, yet, we think, we retain sufficient of the principles to enable us to form a tolerably correct estimate of the progress made in it by young gentlemen like those in Mr. Selleck's class. This, indeed, was all we pretended to when requested to be present at the recitation in geometry. We allowed ourselves to be persuaded, however, to propose a few questions on the properties of angles and triangles, especially as illustrated in the famous Pythagorean proposition, more generally known among students as the *pons asinorum*. We also proposed a few questions on the ratios of straight lines, and of the rectangles formed by those lines. The results were all very pleasant to us, and apparently they were equally so to the students. We think the geometricians would be as willing as the Grecians or the Romans to do us the justice to admit that, if there are persons who propose questions to puzzle or create confusion, or to show their own cleverness, we are not of the number.*

To these necessarily hurried remarks, we can only add that nowhere have we met an educator who illustrates more fully than Mr. Selleck the truth of the Homeric precept that boldness in a good cause ever meets with friends, and generally commands success. Knowing that the poet's exact words will be fully understood and appreciated at Norwalk, we take pleasure in closing our article with them as a memento of our visit:

μηδέ τι θυμῷ
τάρβει θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων
ἐργοισιν τελέθει, εἰ και ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι.†

ART. VII.—*The Life and Death of John of Barneveld, Advocate of Holland*, &c., &c. By JOHN LATHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L., LL.D. In two vols., 8vo, with Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

THOSE who read these volumes carefully, without bias or prejudice, will not think very highly of the Dutch Republic, although it is by no means the avowed or acknowledged intention of Mr. Motley to disparage its general character. Indeed, we do not believe that he means anything of the kind. Such a design would be entirely incompatible with his previous works, and would show a radical change in his feeling and disposition.

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* After we had heard the recitations, we had the curiosity to inquire whether there were any students from Stamford, as we wished to verify the statement made to us in that town by the lady teacher mentioned in the text. The ladies rarely deceive strangers who apply to them for information, and so it proved in the present instance; for precisely as we had been told, we found that, among the students from Stamford, at Mr. Selleck's School during the past year, were Charles J. Holly, Jr., Richard H. Lockwood, Wm. B. Williams, Frank G. Williams, and J. Walters Waring.

† Odyss. vii., 50.

A number of years have now elapsed since we reviewed in these pages his "Rise of the Dutch Republic." None appreciated the work more than we; most cheerfully did we acknowledge its great merits, and assign it a high rank among contemporary contributions to historical literature. We had but two faults to find with it: one was that Mr. Motley allowed his republicanism to carry him a little too far in his denunciations of kings and emperors; the other that he made a sort of *bête noire* of the Pope—a genius of evil who, in one form or another, was at the bottom of everything bad or wicked.

Our readers will bear us testimony that our admiration for the so-called "crowned despots" is very slight; they will also acquit us of having any more love for a good Pope than we have for any other mortal equally good and pious. To us, temporal and spiritual sovereigns are all alike, except so far as they respectively distinguish themselves as enlightened, liberal statesmen, or patrons of literature, science or the arts.

But if any one ought to be more impartial in these respects than another it is the historian, who should be as free from bias or prejudice, political or religious, as the judge on the bench. No one has more admirably or more truthfully described this necessary condition of mind in such circumstances than Julius Cæsar in his eloquent and noble speech in the Senate in regard to "the wild justice of revenge," sought to be brought to bear on all who took part in the conspiracy of Catiline. In the pages of Sallust this speech stands forth as embodying all the wisdom of the ancients, in respect to what man's judgment on man should be. "Conscript Fathers," says Cæsar, "it becomes men who deliberate upon, or discuss, doubtful things to be free from hatred, friendship, anger and pity. The mind does not easily perceive the truth where those things obstruct."*

Mr. Motley's long residence in Europe has made him somewhat more familiar with the "despots" than he was when he wrote his first work; he has learned to regard them as very much like other mortals—no worse, perhaps, in general, if no better, than some of our own republican patriots—such, for example, as those who love their country so intensely that that they will steal the money out of their country's treasury whenever a favorable opportunity presents itself! That Mr. Motley has not entirely got rid of the old difficulty, however, would be sufficiently evident without going beyond his preface. We quote:

> "The causes and character of the two wars were essentially the same. There were many changes of persons and of scenery during a struggle which lasted for nearly three generations of mankind; yet a natural succession both of actors, motives, and events will be observed from the beginning to the close.
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> "The designs of Charles V. to establish universal monarchy, which he had passionately followed for a lifetime through a series of colossal crimes against humanity and of private misdeeds against individuals, such as it has rarely been permitted to a single despot to perpetrate, had been baffled at last. Disappointed, broken, but even to our own generation never completely unveiled, the tyrant had withdrawn from the stage of human affairs, leaving his son to carry on the great conspiracy against human rights, independence of nations, liberty of thought, and equality of religions, with the additional vigor which sprang from intensity of conviction.
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> "For Philip possessed at least that superiority over his father that he was a sincere bigot. In the narrow and gloomy depths of his soul he had doubtless persuaded himself that it was necessary for the redemption of the human species that the empire of the world should be vested in his hands, that Protestantism in all its forms should be extirpated as a malignant disease, and that to behead, torture, burn alive, and bury alive all heretics who opposed the decree of himself and the Holy Church was the highest virtue by which he could merit Heaven."

This shows that Mr. Motley retains quite enough of the old feeling; but no feeling, or lack of feeling, has prevented him from presenting us a faithful, life-like protraiture of John of Barneveld. But precisely because he has done so, and shown what was the reward of that truly great statesman and patriot, his book, as we have already intimated, is a severe, though just, commentary on the traditional greatness of the Dutch Republic. That is, Mr. Motley states the facts honestly; and the facts condemn the Republic, as, after all but a paltry affair—a government whose epitaph, if truly written, would be little if anything better than that of Venice, as administered by its infamous Council of Ten. Surely the Council of Ten did nothing baser in its worst days, when inspired by its worthy Sarpi, than to put the greatest statesmen and truest patriots of the Republic to an ignominious death. But in order that this may be fully understood, we will give a brief outline of the life and character of John of Barneveld, showing who were his friends, who his enemies. In doing so we shall not confine ourselves exclusively to the narrative of Mr. Motley, graphic and forcible, often startling, as it undoubtedly is.

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* P. C. qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitiâ, irâ, atque misericordiâ vacuos esse decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt."—*Bell. Cat.*

John Van Olden Barneveld was born in the middle of the sixteenth century (1549). He was thoroughly educated, chiefly through the influence of his mother, who was a lady of exemplary character. Not content with the instructions given at the chief educational institutions of Holland, he studied in turn at the principal universities of France, Italy and Germany. At an early age he chose the law as a profession, and soon became distinguished as an advocate. While little more than a boy he served as a volunteer, at his own expense, through several campaigns in the great war of freedom against Spain. While still quite young he was elected grand pensionary of Holland. He was chiefly instrumental in obtaining from Spain an armistice for twelve years, in which the independence of Holland was acknowledged.

In short, no patriot of ancient or modern times served his country more faithfully or more ably than Barneveld did, for a period of nearly forty years; and the reward he received from the States General was to have his head cut off by the common executioner, in the seventy-second year of his age, when he was only able to stagger feebly to the scaffold.

One of the most impartial and most faithful of the historians, who treated the events of this period before Mr. Motley, gives the following estimate of the character of Barneveld:

> "Ce vertueux citoyen était republicain par ses moeurs et son caractère, encore plus que par ses principes. Il ne séparait jamais la cause de la liberté, dans son cœur ni dans sa tête, de celle de l'ordre et de la justice; mais il se defiait de l'ambition et des grands talents de Maurice; il craignait les excès auxquels la reconnaissance pouvait etrainer les Bataves. A un esprit lumineux, sage, profond, il joignait une grande expérience des affaires, un zèle infatigable pour son pays, et une simplicité vraiment antique. Il avait blanchi dans des travaux utiles à l'État; sa vigilance iniquiète avait veillé sur la république naissante; il avait conjuré les dangers extérieurs par sa fermeté dans les moments critiques, et par l'art des négociations. C'était principalement à lui que les Hollondais devaient les avantages de la trêve de 1609, conclue pour douze ans entre l'archiduc d'Autriche et les états, et tout récemment il avait engagé le roi d'Angleterre (Jacques, I.,) à leur rendre la Brille, Flessingue et Ramekens. Trente-trois années de services lui avaient acquis un crédit mérité." *

Before we quote Mr. Motley in regard either to the trial or the execution of Barneveld—the former being a mere matter of form—we may remark that among those arrested at the same time, and on the same charge, were the celebrated jurist and author, Grotius, Hoogerbeets, and Ledenberg. The two latter were executed, and Grotius was saved from the scaffold only through the faithful devotion of his wife, who had him conveyed in a large chest from the fortress of Lovestein, which she represented to the soldiers who carried it as only containing some of her husband's books. But let us hear Mr. Motley:

> "On the 7th March the trial of the great Advocate began. He had sat in prison since the 18th of the preceding August. For nearly seven months he had been deprived of all communication with the outward world save such atoms of intelligence as could be secretly conveyed to him in the inside of a quill concealed in a pear and by other devices. The man who had governed one of the most important commonwealths

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* Ancillon, *Tableaux des révolutions du système politique de l'Europe*, etc., t. ii.

of the world for nearly a generation long—during the same period almost controlling the politics of Europe—had now been kept in ignorance of the most insignificant every-day events. During the long summer-heat of the dog-days immediately succeeding his arrest, and the long, foggy, snowy, ice winter of Holland which ensued, he had been confined in that dreary garret-room to which he had been brought when he left his temporary imprisonment in the apartments of Prince Maurice." —p. 311, Vol. ii.

The character of the trial is faithfully described by Mr. Motley. We can only give a small fragment of his description:

"It was a packed tribunal. Several of the commissioners, like Pauw and Muis for example, were personal enemies of Barneveld. Many of them were totally ignorant of law. Some of them knew not a word of any language but their mother tongue, although much of the law which they were to administer was written in Latin.

"Before such a court the foremost citizen of the Netherlands, the first living statesman of Europe, was brought day by day during a period of nearly three months; coming down-stairs from the mean and desolate room where he was confined to the comfortable apartment below, which had been fitted up for the commission.

"There was no bill of indictment, no arraignment, no counsel. There were no witnesses and no arguments. The court-room contained, as it were, only a prejudiced and partial jury to pronounce both on law and fact without a judge to direct them, or advocates to sift testimony and contend for or against the prisoner's guilt. The process, for it could not be called a trial, consisted of a vast series of rambling and tangled interrogatories reaching over a space of forty years without apparent connection or relevancy, skipping fantastically about from one period to another, back and forth with apparently no other intent than to puzzle the prisoner, throw him off his balance, and lead him into self-contradiction."—pp. 315, 316, Vol. ii.

Mr. Motley's account of the execution is in itself a sufficient commentary on the qualifications of the Dutch of that period for self government:

"In front of the lower window, with its Gothic archway hastily converted into a door, a shapeless platform of rough, unhewn planks had that night been rudely patched together. This was the scaffold. A slight railing around it served to protect it from the crowd, and a heap of coarse sand had been thrown upon it. A squalid, unclean box of unplaned boards, originally prepared as a coffin for a Frenchman—who some time before had been condemned to death for murdering the son of Goswyn Meurskens, a Hague tavern-keeper, but pardoned by the Stadholder—lay on the scaffold. It was recognized from having been left for a long time, half forgotten, at the public execution-place of the Hague.

"Upon this coffin now sat two common soldiers of ruffianly aspect, playing at dice, betting whether the Lord or the Devil would get the soul of Barneveld. Many a foul and ribald jest at the expense of the prisoner was exchanged between these gamblers, some of their comrades, and a few townsmen, who were grouped about at that early hour. The horrible libels, caricatures, and calumnies which had been circulated, exhibited, and sung in all the streets for so many months had at last thoroughly poisoned the minds of the vulgar against the fallen statesman."—pp. 385, 386, Vol. ii.

The whole scene is, indeed, too painful to quote. We confine ourselves to an additional observation or two. "The old statesman," says the historian, "leaning on his staff, walked out upon the scaffold and calmly surveyed the scene. Lifting his eyes to Heaven he was heard to murmur, 'O God! what does man come to?' Then he said bitterly once more, 'This, then, is the reward of forty years' service to the State!'"

It may well seem incredible that any Christian commonwealth would oppress and slay its great men and true benefactors after this fashion, except it had proof that they had committed capital crimes of some kind. But no such charge could be made on any credible evidence against men like Barneveld, Grotius, Ledenberg, and Hoogerbeets. Why, then, were they treated thus barbarously? Will those unacquainted with the facts believe that the only crime of those great men was, that they preferred the mild, hopeful, theology of Arminius to the rigorous, relentless theology of Calvin? This formed the basis of the difficulty; and Maurice, a prince of the house of Orange, who had been elected captain-general of the Republic, chiefly through the influence of Barneveld, made this the means of forwarding his own ambitious projects. Thus actuated, Maurice had a synod convened at Dordrect, to which the Calvinists from every country in Europe, except France, sent deputies. As a matter of course, this synod condemned the Arminians as the worst of heretics. Not content with this, it represented the Arminians as in league with Spain.

This was a sufficient encouragement for the tyrant of the house of Orange. It was in vain that the princess-dowager of Orange, the French ambassador, and many other personages who were friendly to the Republic, implored that he would not bring such disgrace upon it. His chief regret was that the illustrious Grotius had escaped from his vengeance.

None acquainted with the conduct of Maurice—the worthy ancestor of the hero of Glencoe—can wonder that the two sons of Barneveld—William and Reinier—entered into a conspiracy for the purpose of avenging the murder of their illustrious father. One escaped, the other was executed. After the condemnation of Reinier his mother threw herself at the feet of Maurice to implore mercy. The tyrant asked her sarcastically why she humbled herself thus for her son since she had refused to do so for her husband. Her reply will ever be memorable, and an honor to her sex. "I did not ask pardon for my husband, because he was innocent; I ask it for my son because he is guilty."

But we cannot lay down Mr. Motley's highly interesting work without presenting our readers one extract more. It is but a part of a tribute which is eminently deserved :·

"But there was one man who was not deceived. The warnings and lamentations of Barneveld sound to us out of that far distant time like the voice of an inspired prophet. It is possible that a portion of the wrath to come might have been averted had there been many men in high places to heed his voice. I do not wish to exaggerate the power and wisdom of the man, nor to set him forth as one of the greatest heroes of history. But posterity has done far less than justice to a statesman and sage who wielded a vast influence at a most critical period in the fate of Christendom, and uniformly wielded it to promote the cause of temperate human liberty, both political and religious. Viewed by the light of two centuries and a half of additional experience, he may appear to have made mistakes, but none that were necessarily disastrous or even mischievous. Compared with the prevailing idea of the age in which he lived, his schemes of polity seem to dilate into large dimensions, his sentiments of religious freedom, however limited to our modern ideas, mark an epoch in human progress, and in regard to the general commonwealth of Christendom, of which he was so leading a citizen, the part he played was a lofty one. No man certainly understood the tendency of his age more exactly, took a broader and more comprehensive view than he did of the policy necessary to preserve the largest portion of the results of the past three-quarters of a century, or had pondered the relative value of great conflicting forces more skilfully. Had his counsels been always followed, had illustrious birth placed him virtually upon a throne, as was the case with William the Silent, and thus allowed him occasionally to carry out the designs of a great mind with almost despotic authority, it might have been better for the world. But in that age it was royal blood alone that could command unflinching obedience without exciting personal rivalry. *Men quailed before his majestic intellect, but hated him for the power which was its necessary result.* They already felt a stupid delight in cavilling at his pedigree. To dispute his claim to a place among the ancient nobility to which he was an honor was to revenge themselves for the rank he unquestionably possessed side by side in all but birth with the kings and rulers of the world."—pp. 376, 377, Vol. i.

Grotius is much more universally known than Barneveld on account of the various valuable books written by the former, especially his *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (" On the Right of Peace and War "), one of the first great works of modern times that had the effect of mitigating, to a considerable extent, the horrors of war. Mr. Motley's account of the imprisonment and escape of the great jurist and philosopher presents one of those instances in which truth is stranger than fiction. It were startling and instructive if for no other reason than that it shows the effect of oppression and persecution even on a mind like that of Grotius.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY.

Les premières Civilisations; Etudes d'histoire et d'archéologie. Par **François Lenormont.** 2 vols. Paris: Maisonneuve et cie, Libraires-editeurs.* 1874.

Every book ought to have a title, and it was upon this assumption, no doubt, that M. Lenormont proceeded when he called this "Les premières Civilisations." To one, however, who places any significance in a title, this may appear a little enigmatical. As a matter of fact, it gives but a vague idea of the contents of the book to which it is prefixed. The latter is a collection of essays upon various subjects, which appeared in the French periodicals between 1867 and 1873. They have been republished, and make up two volumes of more than four hundred pages each.

The general character of these essays is more accurately described in the preface, to be a collection of fragmentary studies upon a certain number of points connected with historic and archæological science. The first of the collection is entitled, "L'homme fossile," in which the author reviews the *Précis de paleontologie humaine* of M. Haney. M. Lenormont's highest nature is roused to enthusiasm in discussing the results of this science. The disdain in which it was held by men of science, even to the time of Cuvier, is pathetically described and commented upon. While other sciences were crowded with investigators, this was forgotten. But the triumph came. In a short time surprising results were attained. Though with a start of a thousand years, history was outstripped by its young rival, palæontology, and to-day the latter may assert confidently concerning epochs, about which history can offer not the slightest conjecture.

But while M. Lenormont is a scientific reasoner, he is determined not to offend against the Bible and its religion. The middle course he finds it hard to maintain, though he strives hard and constantly. It is the old story of Socrates teaching the use of reason while worshipping the idols of tradition. Being a geologist, as well as a believer in the Bible, he finds it necessary to interpose the following explanation:

> "En effet, les calculs que l'on essayé de faire d'après la Bible reposent uniquement sur la généologie des patriarchs, depuis Adam jusqu'a Abraham, et sur les indications relatives a la durée de la vie de chacun d'eux. Mais d'abord, le premier élément d'une chronologie réelle et scientifique fait absolument défaut; on n'a aucun élément pour determiner la mesure du temps au moyen de laquelle est compté la vie des patriarchs, et rien n'est plus vague que le mot 'année,' quand on n'en a pas l'explication précise."—p. 53.

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* We are always indebted to the courtesy of Mr. F. W. Christern, foreign bookseller, University Place, for the French books reviewed, or noticed, in this department.

But does this bring us any nearer the truth? Does it not, on the contrary, plunge us into just as strong an improbability? Is it not apparent that, in the same geometric ratio by which the year is lengthened for geological purposes, the lives of the patriarchs are drawn out to incredible lengths, as a consequence? The author concludes thus satisfactorily to himself and us:

> "La seule chose que la Bible dire d'une manière formelle, c'ést que l'homme est comparativement récent sur la terre, et ceci, les decouvertes de la science, au lieu de le dementier, le confirment de la maniere la plus éclatante."—p. 55.

The character of the other essays may best be obtained from their titles, which are as follows:—"Des monuments de l'epoque neolithique," "L'Antiquité egyptienne à l'exposition universelle," "La Poème de Pentaour," "Recherches sur l'histoire de quelques animaux domestiques," and "La Roman des deux Frères."

In reviewing the results of Egyptology, the author takes the following generous pride in the efforts of his countrymen:

> "Et encore aujourd'hui, malgré les efförts de l'Allemagne et de l'Angleterre pour nous ravir cette primauté, c'est la France qui tient le premier rang dans la carrière de l'égyptologie, grâce aux travaux de M. le vicomte de Rougé et aux belles explorations de M. Mariette."—p. 177.

The papers in the second volume are entitled respectively: "Le Deluge et L'Epopée Babylonienne," "Un vêda Chaldien," "Un patriote Babylonien du VIII. Siècle," "La legende de Cadmus et les Etablissements des Phéniciens en Gréce."

The last of these essays is by far the most pretentious of all, both in the form and nature of its treatment. The author has given the subject of which it treats much investigation, and meets the arguments of his opponents with something else than mere criticism. M. Lenormont, while, of course, he does not accept the legend of Cadmus and the Phenician introduction of letters into Greece as literally presented, yet thoroughly believes the substance of it as true. In the discussion of the subject he gives special prominence to the views of Ottfried Müller, whose arguments, tending to prove the contrary of those of M. Lenormont, are elaborately stated under four heads. The first of them will serve our purpose of illustration. It is thus stated by M. Lenormont: I. Le silence des plus anciens poetes sur Cadmus et les colons Pheniciens. But this, in our author's view, is far from conclusive, even as far as it might have been expected to go. It is hardly as fair to presume that Homer knew the origin of the Grecian tongue as that Shakespeare knew the origin of the English, and yet, we suppose, it is hardly proven that the latter supposition is true. Further than this, says our author:

> "Quant aux traditions historique, elles ne peuvoient toutes trouver place dans les poèmes homériques. Leur auteur n'a pas prétendu en faire une encyclopédie, et

ce qui ne de n'attachait pas à son sujet, de prés en de loin, a éte necessairement laissé de côté par lui."—p. 327.

In conclusion, we have to thank M. Lenormont for his essays. If he has not offered anything of much original value, he has at least "taken account of stock," in mercantile phrase, and shown us what we really know concerning some subjects of much scientific interest.

History of French Literature. Adapted from the French of M. Demogeot, by Christina Bridge. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874. pp. 340.

Second only to the difficulty of writing a nation's political history is that of writing a history of the progress of its thought. By history, in this sense, we do not, of course, mean a chronological arrangement of the writers who have formed its literature, but philosophical explanation of sequences in thought and style, by the causes which have preceded them. To write a history of this kind requires not so much minuteness as breadth; not so great accuracy in details as largeness of scope. Perhaps the most notable examples of the kind to which we refer, that American readers have access to, are Mr. Hallam's "History of the Literature of Europe," and M. Taine's "History of the Literature of England."

The volume before us comprehends, in its comparatively few pages very many valuable traits. It is not so compendious as its size would imply, the author having preferred to make no more than bare mention of a multitude of writers of less note, and reserve opportunity for extended treatment of those of greater importance; it is a philosophical treatise in miniature. Its views are expressed with conciseness ; no wearying biographical notices clog our mind's energies. Epochs, and not dates, receive the fullest attention.

The author's plan has been five distinct divisions, with an introductory view which covers the history of thought, or rather the absence of thought, from the death of Bäëthius to the beginning of the Middle Ages. With the latter begins his first period. No material fact goes further to prove the repetition of history upon itself than does the fate of literature during the dark ages. The fall of Rome was accompanied by the disappearence of letters. The first struggles for a reappearance were made in the same manner that centuries before they were made among the islands of the Ægean. Here, as there, Epic poetry was the first to get a foothold.[*] There wandering bards received it as their heritage, and handed it down to their successors with their own contribution. Here the *jinglour* or minstrel was its votary, the feudal lord its patron.

Lyric poetry next made its reappearance. It was the product of chivalry, and for three centuries or more it bore the one burden of love. Of medicine but little was known. Religion became indoctrinated with, if not superseded by, Scholastic Theology. Disputations were constant between such persons as Abelard and Bernard, but the results obtained were but small. The drama reappeared in mysteries and moralities. History was barely represented, the lively Froissart alone redeeming it. Such was the state of literature in the fifteenth century. Then came the renaissance and the influence of Italian mind.

> "Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, those indefatigable gleaners of the riches of the past, seem, in their writings in their own vernacular, to have attempted nothing more than a recasting of the rude materials they found in mediæval France. The one gave a character of beauty to the pious legends of *trouvères*, the other to the songs of the *Troubadours*." p. 95.

Montaigne and Rabelais foreshadowed the literary outburst of the seventeenth century.

This the author has divided into the ages of Richelieu and of Louis XIV., which were the crisis in the race between politics and literature, and it was now that the latter far surpassed its antagonist. The French drama, in the hands of Corneille, was freed from the Spanish influence. The recognition of the "three unities" now became a cardinal principle. It was the time of a great awakening of all the nations of Europe from their lethargy. In England and France, two great minds were independently laying the foundations of all subsequent philosophy. Dramatic poetry reached its culminating point in the works of Racine and Molière. The reaction to this literary activity came at the close of the reign of Louis XIV. The "great lights had gone out," and for a time no others were lighted; but when they were their brilliancy differed from that of the others in glory. The bare mention of such erratic minds as Voltaire and Rousseau gives the character of the period that followed, and this period virtually closes the author's work. The pages that remain are but an enumeration of the subsequent writers who have lived in our century.

As we have said before, M. Demogeot's work is of much value even from a philosophical point of view. Its adaptation by Miss Bridge will be of real benefit to those Americans who, while they are not indifferent to the history of French thought, are inadequate to independent investigation.

The History of Greece. By PROF. DR. ERNEST CURTIUS. Translated by ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WOOD, M.A. Vol. IV., p. 530. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.

THE fourth volume of Professor Curtius' work is before us. Its major division consists of two books, one treating of the supremacy of

Sparta, the other of the supremacy of Thebes, both of them covering the period of forty years immediately succeeding the downfall of Athens.

The events discussed in this volume form no very bright spectacle for enthusiasts over the perfection of Grecian civilization. More than thirty years had elapsed since the age of Pericles and Phidias. The light of Athenian glory had effectually gone out. Her pride had been humbled, her walls torn down, and her supremacy overthrown. The way was open to her old rival. Everything seemed to favor uninterupted political prosperity for the government of Sparta. Her reigning over the other Hellenic powers seems to have been accepted as a most logical conclusion. Her influence was high among the powers of Asia. Add to this her rulers, second to none that had ever governed her, and we wonder at her inability for permanent political supremacy.

For a time, however, this was undoubted, and Athens was made to feel its power. The first penalty for her defeat was change of government. The democratic system had been for years the accepted government of Athens. This must be altered to an oligarchy. In quick succession, The Thirty, The Three Thousand and The Ten held the power of Athens, with but brief tenures; each was overthrown and another established. The old religion at Athens had become well nigh a form. Traditions were no longer respected. Had not the gods of the city either been treacherous or vanquished? In either event, the issue was the same. They no longer deserved respect and worship. This is the picture which does not charm the æsthetic student of the history of Greece; but it has its charms for the philosopher no less than any which Dr. Curtius has hitherto given us.

This period, indeed, has its peculiar interest for the mental philosopher. It was the period of a great awakening, of renunciation of ancient religious belief. It was the period, not indeed of the establishment, but the indulgence of reason. It was emphatically the age of Athenian infidelity. As such it commands the earnest study of the historian, and has evidently received it from Dr. Curtius. One of the most puzzling questions for the student of Plato is the apparent contradiction between Socrates' position as a sophist and his antagonism to the sophists. The school of sophists was the natural concomitant of the chaotic state of Athenian ethics and morals. Their object was to furnish a substitute for the ancient standards which had been furnished by religion. Their standard they found in the workings of the human mind. Thus far Socrates was in perfect accord with them. But there their paths diverged. The premises of Protagoras were illogically carried out by his successors. If the human mind is the arbiter, why not give its desires precedence over civic requirements? Freedom was confounded with license. Socrates, on the other hand, taught that self-knowledge deserved precedence to the syllogism, and that the latter was only valuable as it was applied by a *good* man. The breach widened, and Socrates paid the penalty of his philanthropy by death.

But, in the meantime, how has Sparta been using her head-ship of Grecian affairs? She is not yet harassed by religious doubts. Philosophy is still penal within her walls, but for all this her supremacy is not long to be. Their newly-acquired empire is viewed with ill-will by her sister states in Greece, and while Agesilaus gains victories in Asia Minor the Persian Timocrates was bribing Thebes to contest her supremacy. Leuctra was the turning point in the conflict. Epaminondas rose to power, and became for a time the central figure of Greece. He raised his city to power, but it was short lived. For more than a century Greece had been undisturbed by external power. A few years more and she has found a master in a Macedonian.

The Ancient City. A Study of the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome. By F. DE COULONGES. Translated from the latest French Edition by WILLARD SMALL. 12mo, pp. 529. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. 1874.

THE assumption with which this book opens is, that the régime of the ancient Greeks and Romans owed its origin and development to the intensity and prevalence of their religious belief. By the application of logical formulæ to this principle, M. De Coulonges conducts a theory upon which he explains every custom and law of those people, whether of the individual, family, or state. Philosophy, and especially philosophy of history, is the legitimate domain of doubt. The secret of no civilization can be accurately determined by logical deductions. What can be secured at best is a comparison of probabilities. Judged by this standard, M. De Coulonges' work deserves high praise. While accurately determined dates are a matter of comparative indifference to him, epochs and eras in the progress of political and religious belief are of paramount importance. In dealing with hackneyed subjects and well-known facts, the novelty of his treatment redeems his book from being tedious, and its suggestiveness is everywhere recognized. It is fortunate for M. De Coulonges that the nature of his subject did not restrict him to the early historians for his authority. Poets, dramatists, and historians are alike called upon to open up their stores of information to bear him out in his inferences.

The character of this remarkable book can best be indicated by a review of the opinions and the system set forth therein. Its first great division is into five subordinate books, with the following heads: Ancient Beliefs, The Family, The City, Revolutions, The Municipal

Régime Disappears. In the first of these the author gives special exposition to the theory, which, as before stated, is the key to his whole treatise. He traces concisely and accurately the earliest beliefs of those people who afterwards exercised so great an influence on the civilizations of the world. It is somewhat curious to notice the argument which leads him to his conclusions respecting this belief. His fundamental proposition, stated in a word, is, that rites and customs, whether religious or political in their nature, long survive the beliefs and reasons which gave them birth. If, therefore, we desire to find out the earliest religious beliefs of the ancients, we must take the vestiges which remain of them down to historic times, and with them as bases, reason inductively to their originals. Nor is this argument employed but once or twice in the course of the work. It is perpetually recurring, and of conclusive importance. A single instance will suffice as illustration:

> "They even believed, for a very long time, that in this second existence the soul remained associated with the body; born together, they were not separated by death, and were buried together in the grave. Old as this belief is, authentic evidences of it still remain to us. These evidences are the rites of sepulture, which have long survived this primitive belief, but which certainly began with it, and which enable us to understand it. The rites of sepulture show clearly that when a body was buried, those ancient peoples believed that they buried something that was living."
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> "They wrote upon the tomb that the man rested there—an expression which survived this belief, and which has come down through so many centuries to our time. We still employ it, though no one to-day thinks that an immortal being rests in a tomb."—pp. 16, 17.

Perhaps there are no more valuable chapters throughout the whole course of M. De Coulonges' work than those entitled "The Worship of the Dead," and "New Religious Beliefs." These contain a clear exposition and reconciliation of the two entirely different systems of religious belief prevalent among the ancients. The earliest was a worship of the dead.

> "It was perhaps while looking upon the dead that man first conceived the idea of the supernatural, and began to have a hope beyond what he saw. Death was its first mystery, and it placed man on the track of other mysteries."—p. 20.

While death was mysterious, it was also awful, and a sense of awe is nearest akin to religion. There could seem, too, no more rational theory to the imaginative Greek than that his ancestors had departed this lower sphere for no other purpose than to become a god and guardian of his household; and not a very surprising belief to us even now, if we do but look about us. Does nothing akin to it exist among the manifold shades of religious belief which are the concomitant results of modern liberality or laxity? This belief existed for centuries before it had a rival. With the decease of each succeeding generation of ancestors was added a re-enforcement to its household gods, called Penates. Had sacrifices and libations increased in the same arithmetical progression that the gods of each family did, religion must soon have become too expensive a luxury for even the wealthy Athenians. Fortunately this did not seem to have been the case. For, although the household gods always required the first fruits of the daily meal for their nourishment, by a curiously accommodating temper they seem never to have required any more or less after a fresh accession to their number.

The second great religion, which crept in some centuries after the first, was alike pantheistic, but different in its nature and origin. It derived its origin from man's constant association with nature. Its gods were physical objects. They might have been numberless, or there might have been a single one. It was the same to the believer. Here, again, we are struck with the similarity of this belief to that of a modern school. Grant that the apostles of the latter have a juster appreciation of the capabilities of nature than the ancients had, are their doctrines much different? Of what moment is their accurate knowledge of molecules and zoological genera, if their religion is the same?

The next logical step for M. De Coulonges to take was to trace the rise of the family, and to this he has devoted his second book. It were impossible even to point out the numberless instances in which our author reconciles private law with religion. Every single custom, when referred to this latter as its motive, becomes perfectly clear. It will suffice, by way of illustration, to point out a few instances. Each ancient family had its own Penates, and consequently its own sacred fire. The male always worshipped the fire of his ancestors. The female did the same until her marriage, when she adopted those of her husband. From the same principle is derived the idea, widely prevalent among the ancients, of the inherent right to real property. No family could erect an altar to their Penates without the land requisite for building their house. As their worship was perpetual, anything but permanent proprietorship was repugnant to them. The same principle explains the superior right of succession in the male. If he must preserve the sacred fire of his ancestors, he must inherit the hearthstone.

For reasons perfectly obvious from his argument, M. De Coulonges treats, in the same book, the *Jews*, than which no institution of the ancient régime occupies more attention of the historian with less results. Its nature can only be conjectured, despite its nominal existence in the latest times of Roman civilization, for it was then formal, and had survived the reason of its existence. We quote again:

> "The theory that presents the *Jews* as a factitious association has against it, therefore, 1st, the old legislation which gives the *Gentiles* the right of inheritance; 2d, the old religion, which allowed a common worship only where there was a common parentage; 3d, the terms of the language, which attest in the Jews a common origin. The theory has also this defect, that it supposes human societies to have commenced by a convention and an artifice—a position which historical science cannot admit as true."—p. 141.

On the contrary, our author conceives the true explanation of this institution to be the *family* in its wider sense, "still holding its primitive organization and unity."

The three successive steps upwards from the family are the phatery tribe, and the city. The latter forms the subject of M. De Coulonges' third book. Like the family, it had its tutelary guardian or deity. Being a religious foundation, its extent of power could not be exaggerated. The municipal régime was complete. The city was everything and the individual nothing in general estimation. How, then, can we explain these perpetually recurring revolutions which shook the framework of every political structure? Why this succession of monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies? This problem is not too great for M. De Coulonges' panacea. The revolutions were the work of those fallen from grace. It was hardly to be expected that as time passed on this list should not be increased. The sins of their fathers had prohibited them from the worship of the sacred fire. In time they became dissatisfied with social and political ostracism. They demanded a voice in affairs, and obtained it.

M. De Coulonges' last book does not decrease in interest. Two causes conspire to do away with the municipal régime. One a moral cause; the other physical. One the influence of thought and reason, as exemplified in the philosophers who sprang up; the other, the Roman Conquest. These causes work side by side, and produce wonderful effects. The city loses importance in the same ratio that the individual gains it. The preparation for the new revelation of Christianity is completed. Here the author closes his work. It is one which deserves universal favor. But it claims the particular attention of teachers and students of the Greek and Latin classics, to whom we would earnestly recommend it. Although we have not a copy of the original before us, we find sufficient in the translation to satisfy us that the latter does ample justice to the author. None competent to judge who read it will wonder then that, when first published, the work received the *fiat* of excellence from the French Academy.

Prophetic Voices Concerning America. A Monograph. By CHARLES SUMNER. pp. 176. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. 1874.

THE literary fame of Charles Sumner will rest mainly on his speeches, despite his taste for the fine arts and literature. This is, indeed, his first published work which will rely entirely for acceptance on its literary merit; for we think it impossible that even Mr. Sumner could have regarded it as anything else than a rather pleasing collection of curiosities in literature.

The prophecies here collated refer not only to the discovery of America, but to her future power and prosperity. As referring to the former of these events, quotations are made from Seneca's "Medea," the sonnets of Petrarch, and the poems of Pulci. A single line from the latter will show the nature of these prophecies:

> "Men shall descry another hemisphere."—p. 4.

Numerous writers are quoted whose words are supposed to be fraught with wise meaning. Among these are Rousseau, who prophesied our revolution; Turgot, who did the same thing in a remarkably lucid manner; Horace Walpole, who said many true things in jest; John Adams and De Tocqueville. The biographical notes are of much interest, as showing Mr. Sumner's opinion of the writers whom he quotes, and we have no doubt that the book will be acceptably received.

TRAVELS.

The Heart of Africa. Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa from 1868 *to* 1871. By DR. GEORGE SCHWEINFURTH. Translated by ELLEN E. FREWER; with an introduction by WINWOOD READE. 2 vols., 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. 1874.

WE regret that this highly interesting work did not reach us in time to enable us to present to our readers some of the curious and important facts which it contains, that are to be found in no other work. As it is, we can only allude to one or two salient points.

Dr. Schweinfurth is comparatively a recent explorer, but his fame has been enviable from the beginning. His first journey to Africa was made in 1863, more to gratify the curiosity of the ripe scholar, than with the avowed purpose of the explorer. After having botanized during a period of two years, he returned home with a valuable collection of plants. In 1868 he made his second trip by means of aid from the Humboldt Institution, and it is his explorations and discoveries in the three years that followed which are recorded in this work.

His aim in his present book has been, not so much to give his actual original researches in a scientific manner, as to give a popular account of the people whom he saw, with their customs and characteristics. His style indeed is clear and attractive, and hence well fitted for his purposes. We cannot do better in illustration of this than to give a few extracts from his book. The first tribe of Africans which he met after leaving the sea was the Dinka. His description of them is characteristic of his style throughout his whole narrative:

> "The Dinka live in a veritable iron age—that is to say, they live in an age in which iron has still a high value; copper is not esteemed of corresponding importance. The wives of some of the wealthy are often laden with iron to such a degree, that, without exaggeration, I may affirm that I have seen several carrying about with them close upon half a hundred weight of these savage ornaments. The heavy rings, with which the women load their wrists and ankles, clank and resound like the fetters of slaves. Freed from any other domination, it is remarkable of this people how, nevertheless, they are not free from the fetters of fashion."—(Vol. i., p. 153.)

After the Dinka, the tribe which afforded Dr. Schweinfurth the best opportunity of studying their traits, were the Bengo. Unlike the preceding tribe, which is black, the complexion of the Bengo is reddish, like the soil on which they reside. Their intellectual condition, as well as their religious or un-religious views, may be gathered from the following:

> "The Bengo has not the remotest conception of immortality. They have no more idea of the transmigration of souls, or any doctrine of the kind, than they have of the existence of an ocean. I have tried various ways and means of solving the problem of their inner life, but always without success."—Vol. i., p. 394.

Dr. Schweinfurth's merit as a discoverer lies chiefly in his making the acquaintance, in Central Africa, of a tribe hitherto unknown. They dwell immediately south of the Niam-Niam, and their characteristics are well described. Their country is noted for its ivory, the pomp of its sovereign and the skill of its people. In the two latter respects the Monbuttoo differ widely from the other tribes which are described. But they do in other respects also, as is attested by the following extract:

> "Incontrovertible tokens and evidences of the prevalence of cannibalism were constantly turning up at every step we took. On one occasion Mohammed and myself were in Mumza's (the king) company, and Mohammed designedly turned the conversation to the topic of human flesh, and put the direct question to the king, how it happened that just at this precise time, while we were in the country, there was no consumption of human food. Mumza expressly said, that being aware that such a practice was held in aversion by us, he had taken care that it should only be carried on in secret."—Vol. ii., pp. 94–95.

But the chapter for which Dr. Schweinfurth's work is especially valuable, is the one in which he describes the race of Pygmies, and gives them a local habitation.

Since Homer's time the existence of this race somewhere on the globe has been suspected, but by no one, unless we except Mr. Gulliver in his "Travels," have they been accurately described. The present abiding place of this wonderful little people is in the country of the tribe last described. From the time of his arrival among the Monbuttoo, Dr. Schweinfurth had heard rumors of their existence, but for a long time was unable to induce any of them to visit him for very fear. His guide finally succeeded in capturing one of them, which is thus described:

> "After a few mornings my attention was arrested by a shouting in the camp, and I learned that Mohammed had surprised one of the Pygmies in attendance upon the king, and was conveying him, in spite of a strenuous resistance, straight to my tent. I looked up and *there*, sure enough, was the strange little creature perched upon Mohammed's right shoulder, nervously hugging his head, and casting glances of alarm in every direction. Mohammed soon deposited him in a seat of honor. A royal interpreter was stationed at his side. Thus, at last, I was able veritably to feast my eyes upon a living embodiment of this myth of some thousand years!"—Vol. ii., p. 127.

With this hasty glance we are obliged to take leave of Dr. Schweinfurth's valuable contribution. The circle of his readers will, probably, be a narrow one, but from such as it is, we are confident that his work will receive the appreciation which it so well deserves.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Mirèio. A Provençal Poem. By FREDERIC MISTRAL. Translated by HARRIET W. PRESTON. 16mo, pp. 241. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1874.

THE very name Provençal is suggestive of Poetry. It is that of the language of the Troubadours, the vernacular of Abelard and Eloise, whose names will ever be associated with the Romance of the Middle Ages. The district of Provence was the birthplace of Chivalry in France, and for four centuries the Provençal dialect was the medium of its poetry. But then came a decline. Near the close of the thirteenth century the fief of Toulouse was added to the crown, and its loss of independence was attended with the loss of its language. The latter became a mere *patois*.

The poem before us is, therefore, somewhat of an anomaly. The conditions of its success were apparently lost centuries ago, when its language ceased to be literary. "Mirèio" is one of the earliest and best specimens of that recent style of poetry belonging to the Provençal Revival. Whether this revival may be traced, as intimated by a writer quoted by Miss Preston in her preface, to a touching incident in the early literary career of Joseph Roumanille, the founder of the school, may well be doubted. Such an incident is too slender a foundation for so great a superstructure. We rather incline to a practical explanation. The peculiar adaptation of the Provençal tongue to poetry seems to us the more rational theory. But whether this be true or not, the young man who now seeks public favor through the medium of "Mirèio" was a faithful pupil of Roumanille, and from him received his literary culture and training.

"Mirèio" was first produced in 1859, and fearing an adverse reception, M. Mistral wrote an accompanying translation of it in French. It was a great venture, but justified itself. The success of the poem was immediate. French critics made prophecies of a mighty revival of poetry in France; literary circles in Paris were set in a delightful flutter; but whether by reason of the original poem as written, or of the quaint translation which accompanied it, does not appear.

Of "Mirèio" itself we have little to say but what is commendatory. It is a pastoral poem of twelve cantos, each of them being a natural division and not tediously prolonged. Its plot is not new to those familiar with the poems of the early Troubadours. It tells of love's misfortunes; but though an old story, it is new and fresh in its recital. Its *morale* is perfectly wholesome. Unlike Joaquin Miller, M. Mistral is never morbid, and gives no place to sentimentalism. Unlike Mr. Swinburne, he is not blasphemous. His personality is a perfectly genial and humane one. His characters are not the dragon-slaying heroes of the ancients, nor the maudlin free-lovers of a late school of poetry in the English tongue. They are simply rustics of the south of France. A religious spirit and pure tone pervade the poem throughout. As a consequence of these general characteristics, M. Mistral's poetry abounds rather in good description and narrative than in intellectuality. In the first canto is described Lotus Farm, the home of Mirèio, who is thus introduced to us:

" Eyes had she limpid as the drops of dew ;
And when she fixed their tender gaze on you,
Sorrow was not. Stars in a summer night
Are not more softly, innocently bright;
And beauteous hair, all waves and rings of jet ;
And breasts, a double peach, scarce ripened yet."

" Shy, yet a joyous little sprite she was ;
And finding all her sweetness in a glass,
You would have drained it at a single breath."—p. 7.

The second canto contains the tale of love. Mirèio is surprised, as she gathers mulberry leaves in her father's garden, by the gipsy boy, Vincen, who accepts her shyly offered invitation to help her at her work. Their young thoughts could not but turn to love, and thus beautifully its progress is vindicated by a refrain:

" Sing, Magnarello, merrily ;
  The green leaves ever filing !
Two comely children sit on high,
  Amid the foliage smiling.
Sing, Magnarello, loud and oft ;
  Your merry labor hasten.
The guileless pair who laugh aloft,
  Are learning love's first lesson."—p. 30.

They have soon learned the lesson very well, and Mirèio confesses her love for Vincen. While the latter tells his love, too, he dare not hope, because he is a weaver's son.

"O my Mirèio! Ever as I gaze,
Thy beauty fills me with a deep amaze.
Once, when by Vaucluse grotto I was going,
I saw a fig-tree in the bare rock growing;
So very spare it was, the lizards gray
Had found more shade beneath a jasmine spray.

"But round about the root, once every year
The neighboring stream comes gushing as I hear;
And the shrub drinks the water as it rises,
And that one drink for the whole year suffices.
Even as the gem is cut to fit the ring,
This parable to us is answering.

"I am the fig-tree on the barren mountain;
And thou, mine own, art the reviving fountain!
Surely it would suffice me, could I feel
That once a year I might before thee kneel,
And sun myself in thy sweet face, and lay
My lips unto thy fingers as to-day."—p. 41.

Time passes on. Vincen, the weaver's son, plies his humble trade. Suitors come to woo Mirèio, whose beauty has filled the land with its fame. First came a shepherd.

"Alari was his name, a wealthy man;
He had a thousand sheep, the story ran.—p. 69.
His rich gifts were refused."
"Soon to the farm came suitor number two;
A keeper of wild horses from Lombu."—p. 76.

Another comes, a "breaker and brander of wild cattle." But the errands of all are alike unavailing. As the latter leaves her, vowing vengeance, he meets Vincen, and their encounter, in which the weaver's lad is left by his antagonist for dead, is the subject of the fifth canto. He recovers, however, by the aid of the witch, Taven. Ramdun, the master of the farm, is finally importuned for his consent to Vincen's suit, but refuses. Mirèio steals from home at dead of night and seeks the shrine of the Holy Maries, whither Vincen had once told her to go if in trouble. As she journeys on, thinking only of Vincen afar off, she is smitten by the sun's hot rays:

"When in a valley by the river side,
Young turtle doves a huntsman hath espied,
Some innocently drinking, others cooing,
He through a copse-wood with his gun pursuing,
At the most fair takes alway his first aim—
The cruel sun had only done the same."—p. 192.

She recovers her feet and struggles to reach the shrine. Arriving there she prays to the saints, and is heard. They rehearse to her the story of Christ, and tell her of the conversion of Provence from the worship of Paganism. They urge Mirèio to come to them, and then ascend the heavens singing:

"Roses and white robe we must prepare!
She is love's martyr and a virgin fair
Who dies to-day! With sweetest flowers blow,
Celestial paths! And on Mirèio
Shine saintly splendors of the heavenly host,
Glory to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."—p. 223.

Mirèio dies, but not before the arrival of Vincen, who had followed her. His death, from grief, immediately follows, and the poem closes with a psalm, which is sung by the choir in the cathedral. Thus runs the story of Mirèio. It is by no means a great poem, but it is a beautiful one, and has done much, and will do much, to induce a study of the Provençal tongue.

Philosophers and Fools. A Study. By JULIA DUHRING. pp. 357. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

WE were forcibly reminded on looking over this book of the reply which an eminent Frenchman made to a young literary aspirant who had submitted to him one of his published books for criticism: "Young man," said he, disposed to be both generous and just, "there are many good things in your book as well as many new things, but the good things are not new and the new things are not good." Now we are not disposed to apply this judgment, in the present case, to its full extent, but making due allowance for the exaggeration necessary to an epigram, it will answer very well as our criticism.

It is in no sense a remarkable book that is before us; not even is it remarkable for its defects, if this is any consolation. Its thought is healthy, its tone unexceptionable, and its style vigorous. Indeed our only objection to it is a negative one. It does not meet a demand that has long been felt, and after all this is a tolerably safe criterion in literary as well as material products. The aim of the book is to distinguish between the modes of thought, the motives and actions of that class of people who, by superior education and culture, can be called philosophers, and that class which is found under the generic appellation, "fools."

These two classes of society are treated of, in a general way, under Part I., which, by a sort of literary metonymy, has given its name to the whole book. As we have implied, there are here brought together many excellent things bearing directly or indirectly upon a comparison of the two classes of people before mentioned. The author gives a multitude of extracts, and from the best writers. For this we may thank her. It is certainly more creditable, when a thought has been well expressed, to quote the expression entire than to steal the idea and mar it in doing so. All this has been carefully avoided.

But are there no positive good points in the book? We answer affirmatively. The distinction between philosophers and fools has been drawn very nearly to our satisfaction. The philosopher is not "he who, through presumably elevated studies and extended researches into the mysteries of creation, is so far above the rest of the world that he can by no possible agreement live with them upon terms of equality."

Undoubtedly not; but we feel like asking here, as in a number of other cases, "Who said he was?" Whatever we may say of the originality of the author's thought, no one will doubt the extent of her observations, or the general lucidity of her style. We cannot do better than to give one or two short extracts as specimens:

> "Every one would be eccentric if he dared, inasmuch as no two created beings are endowed alike; but the penalties inflicted by an irritated world are so numerous that people gradually accustom themselves to the miseries of conformity, and come to like what they once despised."—p. 55.

Again:

> "Life is an inconceivably beautiful thing, so soon as we reach that point whence we can look out upon it through a clear conscience and a character well-buffeted by experience. The one diffuses a pure, heavenly light over all the strange and complex mass which meets the eye, the other tones down our enthusiasm without destroying its vigor.—p. 55.

We are in doubt whether the author intended any intimate connection between the different parts of this book or not. It might have ended with Part I., and have fulfilled the promise implied in the title, or it might have continued through double the number of parts and have remained as incomplete as it now is. On the whole, we are glad that it did not choose the latter course. However, although, as we say, "Philosophers and Fools" is not a remarkable book, it is one that may be added to the family library not only safely but profitably.

The Minister's Wife; or, Life in a Country Parish. By Mrs. A. K. Dunning. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.

We have but little to say in favor of the average Sunday-school book. With its traditional "good" and "bad" boys, its apotheosis of flesh-mortification, and its abnormal views of life, it is not likely, we believe, to do much for the end for which it was designed. But, of course, it is the Sunday-school book as it is, and not as it might be, which meets our disapprobation. Indeed, we have met with several, which, so far from being objectionable in this respect, we consider the very best reading for young persons. The book, which is before us, we wish to be considered of this number. It has many of the good points, with as few as is possible of the bad ones of Sunday-school books.

The drift of the story may be gathered in a measure from the title.

We are introduced to the "minister's wife" on her wedding-day in the first chapter of the book. What follows is a natural picture of life, and in this it surpasses its fellows. The lady is inexperienced, and in her own mind unfit for the place she occupies. She has become reduced in circumstances by her marriage, and is oftentimes involved in doubt and perplexity as to matters of conscience and duty. Besides this she has a capricious temper, and oftentimes sorely tries her husband. But there is one secret of happiness which they constantly employ toward each other, and with excellent results, namely: speedy confession of fault and eager deference to opinion. Thus we see that the life here represented is not incompatible with life as we see it, or at least, believe it possible to be.

More than this, the characters of this book have much personality, and are not mere types. Our criticism, if we were induced to make any, would involve the discussion of a theological point, and this we desire to avoid. Compared with the class in which it is found, this work gives promise of a better order of things, and, accordingly, we do not hesitate to recommend it to our young friends.

EDUCATION.

1. *A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges, founded upon Comparative Grammar.* By JOSEPH H. ALLEN and JAMES B. GREENOUGH. Revised Edition. pp. 241. Boston: Ginn Brothers. 1874.

2. *A Latin Grammar for the Use of Schools.* By J. N. MADVIG. *Translated from the Original German* by the Rev. GEORGE WOODS, M.A. The First American from the Fifth English Edition, carefully Revised and Compared with the German Editions of 1857 and 1867, with re-translations of portions of the work. By THOMAS A. THACHER, Professor of Latin in Yale College. pp. 504. Boston: Ginn Brothers. 1871.

THESE two grammars, which were brought to the notice of American classical students at about the same time, are well nigh antipodes of each other in systematic form and arrangement. The scope of the one, too, differs far more widely from that of the other than is indicated by the parallel clauses of their title-pages. We see cause, however, for congratulation to American scholars in the appearance of either of them, and *a fortiori* in that of both. For years the American instructor of Latin has had no other choice than between the unattractive grammar of Messrs. Andrews & Stoddard, and the simpler but not less objectionable work of Professor Harkness.* A wider option is, at least, preferable, even though we adhere to our old choice.

In the grammar of Messrs. Allen & Greenough we find a parallel in the matter of scope to the former of the two grammars just mentioned. They both have tried to combine in a single work the information which is required by Latin scholars of every grade. Their difference is in the manner of presentment and logical order. Messrs. Allen & Greenough have desired to make an accurate distinction in all cases between those principles which are worthy of immediate study, and those which are not necessary to be learned until passages in which they are applied are met with in classical authors. With this view the grammar is divided into eighty-five sections, all of which are of such nature as to require commitment to memory by the beginners, while under each of these sections minor divisions, marked *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., may be learned as occasion demands.

The peculiar feature of the system pursued in this book is found in the method of declension and conjugation. Stem-endings and the termination of the genitive singular are the criterion of declension and the basis of noun-forms. Similarly, stem and not root forms, are the criteria of conjugation. The merit of this system is, of course, solely philological. The learner has little choice. To him the labor is mechanical, at least, and that system will suit him best which furnishes the best opportunity for improving the memory.

In the rules of syntax, as presented in this grammar, we find a positive improvement, as far as beginners in Latin are concerned, over those in the old grammars. The rules are in many cases made clearer, and at very slight loss of conciseness. A single illustration will suffice. The rule for the relative pronoun is thus stated:—

> "A relative agrees with its antecedent in *gender and number*; but the *case* depends on the construction of the clause in which it stands." (§48.)

In the countries of Europe Professor Madvig's grammar has been of standard reputation for many years, but not until a few years ago was it brought practically to our notice in this country. Since that time we understand that it has been introduced into some of our colleges as a text-book for, at least, certain of the classes. As Professor Thacher intimates, however, in his preface, "this book will rarely be used by beginners." It is of too comprehensive, and, we fear, radical a character to meet the general approval of instructors—to say nothing of pupils. Its arrangement differs much from other grammars in use. For an instance: Prosody, which in most grammars is the last subject treated, and that, as if its treatment at all were more to meet a charge of incompleteness than for any importance it might possess, is made of prime importance by Professor Madvig.

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* If there are any of our educational friends who have not seen the Bingham Latin series, we would strongly urge them to examine them. Bingham's Latin Grammar and Bingham's Latin Reader are books that should be known to every teacher of the language of Cicero. Fully impressed with this fact, we carefully examined each in this journal some two or three years since, and pointed out its peculiar merits. It afforded us pleasure to find, in our recent excursions to various educational institutions, that some of the best had adopted this Grammar and Reader. The series are published by J. H. Butler & Co., of Philadelphia, to whom the cause of education is indebted for some of the best text-books issued in America.

Two chapters in this grammar strike us as being far superior to the treatment of the same subjects in any other grammar now in use. The first one is the chapter on the Formation of Moods. In this Professor Madvig has gone far into the signification of the termination of moods, and devotes considerable relative space to the subject. The other chapter is the one "On the Nature and Mode of Assertion, and the Time of the Thing Asserted." The bane of a school-boy's existence is the rules for the Latin subjunctive, as ordinarily presented. Professor Madvig's is the first treatment of the subject which, under the most liberal construction, can be called interesting.

His work, as a whole, however, will be best appreciated by students far enough advanced in' the study of Latin to pursue it for other than conventional reasons.

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1. *The New American Primary Speller.* Philadelphia: J. H. Butler & Co.
2. *The New American Pronouncing Speller.* Same house.

We conceive that no man's attainments in scholarship justifies his indifference to the methods pursued in the education of the young. At no time in the history of the mind is it so likely to receive impressions, good or bad, right or wrong, useful or cumbersome, as between the years of six and ten. The mind is then like a blank sheet of paper, upon which must finally be written all the information which a lifetime can evolve. How necessary, then, is economy of space? The analogy holds still further. With abundant space at first, it can receive all the nonsense which the stupid teacher may impose upon it. Later in life repentance comes for the excesses of youth, whether those excesses be of physical or mental self-indulgence. It is therefore necessary that, at this period of life, one's mind should be carefully guarded from learning too much—paradox though this seem. It follows, also, that the text-books to be used by young persons cannot be too carefully or scientifically prepared.

The little books under consideration entirely meet our approval in this respect. They are systematic, and their system is excellent. They have an attractive form, good type, etc.; altogether they are well designed to do good service for the cause of education.

The peculiarity of these books deserves notice. The first of them, as the title indicates, is for the use of beginners. The upper half of nearly every page is devoted to an engraving of some scene familiar to the child. Here it is a drawing-room, there a school-room. A village-green, a fishing-party, a game of ball, any or every scene is made use of to catch and *fix* the child's attention. This accomplished, he is asked by the teacher to point out on the picture the various objects whose names occupy the lower half of each page in parallel columns. He is then taught to spell the name of the object pointed out. By this will be seen the design of the author. It is to exclude from the child's attention numberless words whose meanings are yet entirely useless to him, and which, therefore, only clog his memory, and intrude upon his attention names of objects which are familiar to him.

The design of the second book of the series is different from that of the first, its aim being to teach pronounciation as well as spelling. This is effected by a clear and succinct statement of the rules which obtain, as well as by frequent and judicious use of marks of accentuation.

We cordially recommend these tiny books for general use, both in our schools and in those well-regulated families in which the mother, elder sister or brother gives instruction to the junior members thereof.

Aids to the Study of the Classics; a new series designed to facilitate a Preparation for College. By "C. A."

1. *Cæsar's Commentaries.*
2. *Cicero's Select Orations.*
3. *A Latin Lexicon, to accompany the Ordo Series.* New York: John Wiley & Son. 1873.

We suspect that the most serious objection which will be raised to the system pursued by the editor of this series will be prompted by prejudice. Educational institutions, in general, are nothing if not conservative, and while labor-saving inventions abound in other pursuits, an *easy road* to knowledge is believed by most professors to have no basis in fact.

The idea of an *ordo* accompanying the text of the Latin or Greek authors is not a new one. The old Delphine edition of the classics was edited on this plan, but did not necessarily present to the student the exact phraseology of the author. The result was that he was subjected to the difficulty of a double translation, one of the words of the author, the other of those of the paraphrase. This objection the editor of the present series obviates by not departing from the words of the text, the only difference between the latter and the *ordo* being, that the arrangement of the words in the latter is in accord with the genius of the English tongue.

Our objection to the *ordo* is, mainly, for the following reason: It cannot do otherwise than tend to familiarize the student with an order or arrangement of words which not only would be unintelligible to the author who wrote them, but cannot under the most liberal construction be called Latin. This objection we cannot believe to be counterbalanced by the decrease in the amount of labor which will be required for the translation of a knotty passage. Indeed, it is the labor and ingenuity expended upon such passages by the student that are valuable for their discipline.

The plan of the *ordo* will possibly induce a more widespread study of Latin, but it cannot, we believe, be expected to produce accuracy of scholarship.

Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. By MATTHEW ARNOLD, D. C. L. pp. 270. London: McMillan & Co. 1874.

This is in part a second edition of the report made by Mr. Matthew Arnold of his investigation in 1865 of the schools of the Continent, under the charge of the "Schools Inquiry Commissioners." His report was first published in full in 1868, under the title, "Schools and Universities of the Continent." It is that part of it which relates to the schools of Germany which is now republished. Of course, it is a very simple matter, knowing Mr. Arnold's antecedents, to anticipate his ingenious advocacy of the German system of legal compulsion to educate, as against the system pursued in countries with a popular form of govgovernment. He is an excellent scholar himself, and naturally believes in education. He is a sincere monarchist, and, therefore, believes that the prevalence of education can best be accomplished by means of a centralized power. In this respect he fights not only the prejudices of America but of England also, where freedom to be ignorant is as stoutly clamored for as freedom to engage in a mercantile trade.

Mr. Arnold discusses, in the introductory pages of his work, the higher schools of Prussia, afterwards the rigid requirements of the schoolmasters, and lastly, the universities. Throughout the whole, we get a full conception of thoroughness and absence of sham. Indeed, whatever we may think of the means employed in Prussia for the advancement of education, their results are such that we cannot disparage them.

We may as well realize the fact, too, that until America takes some such pains as Prussia and France to see that those who wish to be teachers, or professors, shall prove, on examination, that they are qualified for their positions, we need never expect to get rid of our sham institutes, sham academies, sham colleges, etc.

SCIENCE.

The Principles of Science: a Treatise on Logic and Scientific Method. By W. STANLEY JEVONS, M. A., F. R. S., Fellow of University College, London; Professor of Logic and Political Economy in the Owens College, Manchester. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

Professor Jevons is already well known to students of logic as the author of a clear and comprehensive text-book discussing the elementary principles of that science. His present work is one of the most pretentious and most valuable that has yet appeared on the subject, and is more especially designed not for the student but for the scientific investigator. In the enthusiasm which has lately been aroused in the investigation of physical phenomena, the *forms* by which these results have been obtained have, in too many instances, not received the requisite attention. The purpose of Professor Jevons, however, is to show that progress is constantly going on, as well in the methods of reasoning and in the results of it as in special departments of science.

The introductory part of this work is devoted mainly to a *resumé* of the primary principles of the logic which has hitherto been in common use. An instance of a slight variation in theory from his immediate predecessors is the author's views respecting deduction and induction, he believing them not so much to be different methods of reasoning as supplementary parts of the same method.

Recognizing, however, the fact that these principles, in their simple forms, are not favorite methods in practice, the author pays special attention to those forms of reasoning which are preferred by scientific men, and it is in his treatment of these subjects that the body of his work consists. Of these the most important are the methods of measurement, of variations, of approximation and of hypothesis. The work concludes naturally with the treatment of generalization, analogy and classification, in which their bearing on scientific phenomena are shown.

Annual Record of Science and Industry for 1873. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the assistance of eminent men of science. pp. 714. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

To suppose it possible to comprehend in a single volume the sum total of scientific thought and investigation for even a single year would be an absurdity of course, not to be thought of for a moment. Both the purpose intended and the result accomplished by this volume are much more limited. It is the third of a series designing to give in compendious form the most important facts ascertained in the various departments of science during the year preceding its publication.

Grant its accomplishment of this aim, yet it will not of course satisfy the specialist. He must still have recourse to the journals of his department if he will secure accuracy of information respecting the recent investigations in his specialty. Its value will be greatest to the general student of science, and the publication of the series in such excellent style is gratifying evidence that this class is rapidly becoming more numerous. The "Record" proper is preceded by a general summary which is a synopsis of what follows, and which will prove interesting even to him who lays no claim to scientific information. We most heartily commend the book.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE: GOOD, BAD AND INDIFFERENT.

Pamphlets of Insurance Companies in Vilification of Each Other. Circulars to Agents. Essays on Benefactors of Mankind, &c., &c.

Under the most favorable circumstances, comparatively few insure their lives during the summer months. But fewer will do so this summer than did any other for at least a decade. Those who blame the late panic exclusively, or even chiefly, for this are much mistaken. The cause is more chronic and more radical; indeed, there are various causes. But the worst are to be traced directly to the insurance companies. The manner in which nine-tenths of these behave toward each other, as well as toward the public, is such that it would be something like a miracle if they continued to retain any part of the public faith beyond that of the most thoughtless and most credulous.

It were well if the public would confine its distrust to this class, for that it should be distrusted is what we have persistently and unflinchingly maintained in these pages for a long series of years. But we never have maintained that the faithful should be put in the same category with the faithless, or the true with the false—always the contrary.

However, it is because so large a portion of the public have confided in the faithless rather than in the faithful, and have been made to feel the consequences, that life insurance in general has fallen into such disrepute. This was to have been expected; we always predicted that the day would come, and could not be far distant, when it would be so.

It was no pleasure to us to give this warning so long in advance, that it was given again and again in vain; nor is it any pleasure to us now to say that the most thoughtless must admit that, when our predictions seemed most gloomy and most unfounded, they were but too true. The present feeling of the public in regard to the subject is to be deplored for two reasons—it is to be deplored for the public's own sake, since legitimate life insurance is as much a public blessing to-day as it was five, ten, or twenty years ago, and has, in fact, not lost a particle of its beneficence. It is also to be deplored because it does not merely do injustice to those companies that have ever been faithful; it does them injury; it does injury to public morals by seeming to prove that if it be not better in a business point of view to be dishonest than honest, it is at least as good. The intelligent reader will have no difficulty in understanding this when we ask him to look around and see what sort of companies make the greatest display of the money of the policy-holders; as when the members of the Tammany Ring bought up valuable property everywhere, built fine houses, and got up diamond weddings, it was evident to all who could look beyond the surface of things that the money so spent was not the money of those who spent it so lavishly and ostentatiously. And it was equally clear to the same class that the day would come when all this property, all these houses and diamonds would be found to be but the proceeds of corruption and fraud.

Take, for example, those three insurance palaces on Broadway; those of the Mutual Life, the New York Life, and the Equitable Life. Pursuing our researches to Hartford, we find the Connecticut Mutual, the Charter Oak, the Ætna Life, and the Traveller's ruling their respective subjects, most of them from similar palaces; and never did any despots, whether called kings, emperors, czars or sultans use the iron rod more ruthlessly.

The public has no adequate idea of the immense business these companies do in lawsuits with the widow and the orphan. Everything is *couleur de rose* as long as the worthy, enterprising company gets its premiums paid in regularly. But when the person who has been paying can pay no longer, whether he is prevented by poverty, sickness, or death, then the whole aspect of the affair is changed. The pawnbroker is often found to be a generous and liberal person to deal with compared to those great insurance "benefactors." If the party whose life is insured dies, it is ten to one but his character is traduced and vilified. He has died only because he was a drunkard, because he had some foul disease, which he had brought on himself by his bad, vicious conduct, or he has committed suicide! We do not say that all are treated thus. This would not do; even the faro banker, the thimble man, or any other gambler, however accomplished, sometimes allows his opponent to win, because the cheat would be too obvious and would defeat itself if the professor of the art always won.

Again, how few besides those who have paid dearly for their knowledge have any idea of the uses which those "benefactors" make of their mortgage system! Although they evade the laws against usury, they are the most unscrupulous of usurers. The unfortunate person who wants a mortgage on his house, or other property, must pay to one functionary a heavy "bonus," to another an exorbitant fee, for examining his title; at the same time he is told that, in order to facilitate the matter, he has to take a policy on his life. A dear mortgage before a penny is received on it; then finally, when the money is obtained, woe to the wight who cannot pay the interest promptly, or who cannot pay the principal when it becomes due, and when it is deemed advisable to demand it. Then come the foreclosures. The mortgaged property is often sold at less than one-half its value; and then, by a process known only to the initiated, it passes into the hands of the insurance "benefactors."

Let us pause here for a moment and ask, is it any wonder that the public has lost confidence in Life Insurance? Of course, the performances alluded to are kept as secret as possible; even for this purpose quite a handsome pile of money is spent annually. The facts are whispered about, however, and gradually become known. But in the meantime those fine "palaces" are built and large fortunes made—all at the expense of those who are silly enough to tax themselves so heavily as long as they live, or as long as they are able to pay, for such purposes.

But all that has been made notorious should have been sufficient to cover the whole tribe of malefactors with a mantle of infamy. Who forgets the sums contributed by each of these companies to bribe the legislature? Who forgets the sums they paid Superintendent Miller for the same fraudulent purpose?

Although we have nothing to say in behalf of Miller—never have said anything in his defence—it is not the less true that other insurance superintendents and insurance commisssoners have been bribed, and are bribed at this day, as well as he. The misfortune of that functionary has been not that he has taken bribes, on a large scale, but that he has done so bunglingly—scarcely making any secret of the fact, until it was too late to conceal some ugly cases. Other superintendents and commissioners have evinced much more discretion in this part of their work; they have observed more caution in transferring to their pockets those little perquisites, which amount to more annually than four times their salaries from the State.

Long before the Miller investigation this was well known to those who devoted any intelligent attention to the *modus operandi* of the great insurance "benefactors." And if it did not show rottenness—if it did not show corruption, and fraud, what could? There was no panic then in any other business; the panic against insurance was gotten up by insurance presidents, insurance vice-presidents, insurance malefactors.

Again, who that has eyes and ears worthy of the name—who that has given even a casual thought to life insurance—is ignorant of the fact that there is not one of the great enterprising companies mentioned which does not keep in its service a pack of scribblers whose chief duty it is to issue pamphlets, circulars, and "confidential" "letters to agents" for the purpose of vilifying their rivals and proving them to be cheats? In a word, it is well known to the initiated—to all who indulge in researches into the nature of things—that there is not one of the corporations named which does not keep constantly in operation a sort of manufactory consisting principally of dark lanterns, gongs, wind instruments, kettle drums, etc., etc., for the manufacture of public opinion, for the disinterested, honorable, and "beneficent" owners thereof!

To us it does not seem in the least strange that it is those who indulge most extensively and most habitually in all the disreputable performances, above adverted to, that are the first to affect astonishment at the fact that, not only has it become very difficult to induce sensible people to insure their lives, but large numbers of those who had insured, when things wore a different aspect, are allowing their policies to lapse rather than pay out any more of their hard-earned money for what might never avail themselves or those depending on them the equivalent of one year's premium.

We have remarked above that all this does injustice and injury to those who would scorn to become rich by such means. It has ever been much more agreeable to us to point out those who deserve well of the public than those who deserve ill, and it shall always be so. We will pursue this course in the present instance; and fortunately the task is as easy as it is pleasant; for no arguments, no descriptions, no narratives, are necessary. We need only mention a few names which, to all who know them, are sufficient recommendations in themselves.

Before we do so, however, it is proper to remark that we would not place all those mentioned above as indulging in certain performances in common in exactly the same category. Thus, for instance, if obliged to choose between the word of the manager of the Mutual Life and that of the manager of the Equitable Life, we would not hesitate to prefer the latter. If obliged to trust one or the other, we would certainly trust Hyde before Winston, but even then we should regard the basis of our faith as a slippery one. The great difficulty with the Equitable manager is, that he is too apt a pupil of the Mutual manager in the art of taking as much money as possible from the public and giving back as little as possible. During the last two years he has made such proficiency in this, that in time the pupil may be expected to outstrip his master. The former has also become quite an adept in the science of whitewashing. Instance that fine coat he had put on about a year ago; this was nearly equal to anything of the sort Winston himself had done. True, another would be needed just now—needed, indeed, both by master and pupil; but before the thing is attempted again, it is proper to bear in mind that the deeper and dirtier the stains become, the thicker and heavier must be the coat of whitewash to hide them.

There was a time when Mr. Franklin, of the New York Life, was worthy of being ranked, just like Mr. Hyde, with the most worthy of our life underwriters. But in an evil hour the ruling power of the company was placed in the hands of the Beers and the Bantas. Then commenced those ugly operations which we fear will end only in death. If the company should die before its present manager, prominent in its epitaph should be the legend; "iron-clad insurance;" or, "insurance suicide."

On similar grounds we would make a broad distinction between the Charter Oak Life, or the Ætna Life, and the Connecticut Life, and the Traveller's Life. As long as the first named of these was managed by Mr. Walkley, no company was more trustworthy or more honorable. Now that gentleman is but nominally its president; the person who manages it would be much more at home in managing a brood of chickens, and teaching them to lay. Upon the other hand the Ætna Life was quite well managed until its secretary was made its president. Promotion has been the ruin of many; and we know no more glaring or more melancholy illustration of that phenomenon than the case of the present chief officer of that once highly respectable, sensible company. The Connecticut Mutual may have improved in its morals lately. It may be that it now pays its little bills, if not its large ones, without litigation, although we are not informed as to the fact. Let us hope, at all events, for the benefit of our *confrères* that the company has abandoned the plan of inserting advertisements in journals under the supposition that it would be declared superior to all rivals, and then withdrawing them without paying a penny, when it finds that that declaration is not forthcoming. It will be admitted that a company might treat its policy holders, and those on whose property it has mortgages, very shabbily, and yet not attain so low a depth of meanness as this. We should like to know that its present managers repudiate this sort of thing; and if they will send us an assurance to that effect, duly attested by a notary, it will afford us pleasure to place it before our readers for the benefit of all whom it may concern.

As for Prof. Batterson's two companies, neither need any description at our hands. To everybody who travels the smallest distance on any railroad in the United States, they are as familiar as the "mixed candy" or the "pop corn." But there is this difference between the three different kinds of commodities sought so persistently to be palmed off on the unfortunate traveller, that while one has something for the twenty-five cents he pays for the mixed candy or the pop corn, it is twenty to one that, accident or no accident, he will never get anything, as much as a cent's worth, for his insurance ticket.

Add to these the various companies whose peculiar sort of "beneficence" we have described from time to time, and three-fourths of which are now extinct—the survivors being in the last stage of consumption—and then let it be asked, is it any wonder that the public has lost confidence in life insurance? It may be asked at the same time what confidence could any intelligent public have in a combination of such companies as those sketched above, which so far admits the guilt in baseness and fraud of its principal members as to pass a resolution declaring that any journal that dares to "attack" (i. e., to criticise,) any member of that combination, will forfeit, thereby, all patronage which it might otherwise have received from that honorable body? That is, the malefactors say, in substance to the press, in the plainest terms: "Don't you dare to expose us; if you do, out comes every advertisement you have from us." What sort of confidence should a threat like this inspire! Is it not a confidence in the bad faith and the dishonesty of those who make it?

Let us not be misunderstood, however. We do not mean by anything we have said, that the companies mentioned above are those against which the public ought to be most on its guard. There are much worse companies; worse English companies, worse French companies, worse German companies, worse American companies.

The reader is aware that we speak habitually of the "good, bad, and indifferent." Well, the companies named we rank among the "indifferent"—that is, among those that need to be closely watched—those that will play a paltry trick on the widow or the orphan, whenever the opportunity presents itself; in a word, those that can and will pay, when it so happens that they see no quibble, or subterfuge, no calumnies on the dead or the living will avail them.

It is clear that since they have obtained large piles of money from the public under various pretences, they can afford to pay a certain proportion, notwithstanding the large sums they squander in display and clap-trap. Let us suppose that for every $10,000 they get from the public they will give back $1,000. Will any disinterested person, who understands the subject, refuse to believe that they return so little? We think not; but if otherwise, what we say is not the less a fact. The difference between $10,000 and $1,000 affords ample "incidental expenses" for law suits, bribes to legislators, bribes to insurance superintendents and commissioners, etc. And what builds the fine palaces? What secures the mortgages? What makes rich nabobs of all the officers?

Upon the other hand, the companies which we rank as the "good" are those that have the will as well as the means to pay every dollar they promise in their policies, and that never engage in lawsuits, except when an attempt is made to defraud them—an attempt to swindle their *bona fide* policy-holders as well as themselves. These, like those just described as the "indifferent," lend money on bond and mortgage, but, unlike the latter, they require no "bonuses"—they do not force the person in need of money to insure his life with them, as one of the essential conditions upon which he is to be accommodated. And still less do they seek to take advantage of the unfavorable pecuniary circumstances in which he may happen, temporarily, to be placed in order to deprive him of his property. On the contrary, the manner in which this class lend their surplus funds renders them veritable benefactors to the public, altogether independently of their faithful and honorable dealing with the widow and the orphan. And, although such companies are but few —always but a small minority as compared to the "indifferent" and "bad," especially as compared to the latter—they are represented in all our principal cities; in Boston, in Hartford, in Philadelphia, and in Newark, as well as in New York.

We have said that it is needless to describe this class to our readers; it is scarcely necessary even to mention the names of the oldest of them. They are known to every intelligent person that ever reflects, and compares insurance companies and their managers with each other. This is eminently true, for example, of the Manhattan Life, New York, the New England Mutual, Boston, the Phœnix Mutual, Hartford, and the Mutual Benefit, Newark. If any of these has ever dealt unfairly, illiberally, or ungenerously with its policy-holders, or with those on whose property they hold mortgages, we have never met any person who would say so; whereas we have met hundreds who bear emphatic, grateful testimony to the contrary.

Far be it from us to say, however, that there are only four faithful, unswerving life companies in America. Any such statement would argue lack of intelligence, lack of candor, lack of fairness, nay, lack of all together, on our part. The old Knickerbocker Life, and the old United States Life, have each passed through vicissitudes that seemed for a time to envelop them in an ominous shadow. For a time, indeed, the former appeared to us to be in doubtful hands, but only for a very short time. Generally it has been ably managed; but it was never managed more ably or more faithfully than it is to-day. The same remark, but slightly modified, will apply to the United States Life, which has been better managed during the last three years, and is now, than it ever was before.

Of all the younger companies there is not one that has better earned the distinction of being ranked with the "good," in the best characteristics of that class, than the New York Continental Life. We could easily illustrate this fact, but both narratives and descriptions are foreign to the design of the present article, which is intended merely as a running commentary for the warm weather—a sort of bird's-eye view of the three best-defined types of insurance companies. But even in a passing glance of this kind, it would not be fair to omit the name of the North America Life in the category of the "good;" for we really do not know any branch of the business of a life insurance company in which it seems to us to indulge in any reprehensible conduct, at the present day, but entirely the reverse.

Our readers know how often we have criticised Philadelphia life companies, ranking them among the "bad" as well as the "indifferent;" and the justice of our estimates have generally been admitted even by those watchful and patriotic guardians of that good city—the daily journals. But when or where have we uttered one word in all our discussions and criticisms tending to cast the slightest stain on the fair, honest fame of the American Life, or the Provident Life and Trust?

In commencing this article we intended to mention the "bad" as well as the "indifferent" and "good," but when we come to carry out that intention we find that so many of that class still survive, though only in a moribund condition, that a mere list of them would occupy more space and time than they are worth. As they can do no great harm during the warm weather, except to themselves, we therefore beg leave to postpone all consideration of the whole brood until September next.

In Fire and Marine, as well as in Life Insurance, there are the indifferent and bad, as well as the good, and in pretty nearly the same proportion. Fortunately for the public, it has but a vague idea of this, the reason being that so few in proportion have their stores or residences burned, or their ships or cargoes lost at sea. All whose lives are insured must die sooner or later, so that at one time or another a demand is sure to be made on those who insure them, whereas not more than one out of a thousand of those whose property is insured against fire ever ask a penny from the fire companies. Accordingly the public is apt to regard the latter as more honest than the former, and only discovers its mistake when a great fire occurs like that at Chicago or Boston. Then, indeed, cheats enough are discovered among fire underwriters. We have at hand some curious illustrations of this; but as we postpone our comments on the sharpers of life insurance, it is but fair that we should allow the sharpers of fire and marine insurance a similar immunity until the dog days are over.

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2. *Fragments philosophiques.* COUSIN.

3. *De l'Écletisme.* Par PIERRE LEROUX.

4. *Tableau des progrès humaines.* NOURRISSON. Paris.

5. *De concordia rationis et Fidei.* HUET.

THE most general law of modern science, perhaps, and the one which results from the most wide and exhaustive induction of our experience, is the connection of all things, contemporaneous as well as successive. The whole of what we know, and the whole of what there is outside of our knowledge—as far as our knowledge points to a totality of things—appears to be connected as a unity, forming, in fact, but one substance and one existent reality. In the separation, multiplicity, and individuality in which we find things in our experience, we cannot say that any of them are complete existences in themselves—that is, that any single thing is a whole thing or full substance. Everything is connected with something else, and not only with something else, but with everything else. The book which lies before us is connected with the table on which it rests, and the ground beneath to which it tends. The law of attraction binds it to every other particle of the earth, and to the sun, and to all other matter in the known universe. Apart from these connections, we cannot say that it is anything at all, or that it has any property complete; and with them it is far more than it seems as in itself here present. In other words, nothing fully exists but the whole, the parts being but partial existences, which have no self-substantial reality; so that we must group all the contents of all space before we can get one particle of matter, with its connections and infinitely radiating lines of force.

And not only has thus everything its connection with other things, or its connection through space; but it has likewise its connection through time. This book has had its history, and it will have its destiny. It has had its cause, or its causes, reaching back indefinitely and in all directions, and it will have its effects. The law of causality binds all things in the infinite past, as well as in the infinite future, together; just as the law of gravitation binds all things in the infinite present together. Nothing is what it is now, because it does not remain the same a single instant, and has in itself the seeds of the change which it is undergoing. It does not exist, but presents a passing appearance, in such a way that whereas it a little while ago was one thing, it is now a different thing. It is constantly going on to be something else. To know what a thing is, therefore, we must not take it at any one time, but take it through all time—take up the sum of its changes and seek the totality of the thing through the totality of the changes through which it has passed and will pass. In other words, we must sum up all time to get the thing, things being extended in time as well as in space.

This connection of all things, through space and through time, by attraction and by causality, is nothing more than we should legitimately infer from the law of evolution, according to which the known universe has been produced, and according to which our earth and all that is in it have received form and character and successive changes. In other words, we have in the origin of the world and of our system, according to the nebular hypothesis, the reason of the connection of things, and an indication of a more general connection than our experience furnishes, the nebular hypothesis serving to correlate our *à priori* speculations with the facts of our observation in this matter. According to this law, the law of evolution—that is, according to the generally received interpretation of the origin of the earth and of its contents—all things were originally one, a homogeneous mass, an undistinguishable inqualitative unity. It is nothing more, then, than natural to suppose that after all its changes, the changes by which the earth and all in it have been produced, they would still remain one and connected. The original mass, as we conceive it in our ultimate speculations, was a nebular atmosphere charged with force, or in motion. That atmosphere and that motion have been the substance and the force out of which all things now existing have been evolved. We have no occasion to suppose either other materials or other power. Since, therefore, the original homogeneous nebula has developed into the present world, and differentiated into the lands and seas, and rocks and trees, and animals and men, and into their motions and thoughts, it is nothing more than to be expected that these all are equivalent to that original mass and its motion, and that if collected all together they would express the equality of what the nebula was in the first place, and preserve a continual equation with it at every period during its changes. In other words, that there has been in this changing only a correlation of the matter and forces originally existing, and that these now express themselves, instead of in clouds, and heat, and rain, and fogs, partly in the living and moving things of the earth, and germinally in the future phases that the earth and its objects are to present. In other words, the original unity, when all things were together, has become now a great diversity, in which the whole has been preserved, but which shows itself in different and scattered forms, nothing having been lost, nothing added, and nothing in its ultimate character changed.

Since, now, all this present state results from a past state, this diversified from a simple state, it is natural that the present diversity should have lines of connection through it to express the past unity, and that the present connection, whether manifested in gravity or causality, whether in chemical or animal affinity, whether in magnetism or emotional inclination, should only express the original motion to which it is due, and which, although expanded in diversity, has yet been preserved in and between the diversified forms. Things being originally one, they have simply remained so, not, indeed, in form or coherency of mass, but in connection between the parts if separated, and between the particles if united, a connection which holds them together through space, and that works on them as cause and effect through time. So that, however far things may get apart, and however different they may become, they will not get out of unity, or become anything else than what the original force makes them, or than what is an equivalent of the original force. When, accordingly, we see that the sun is attracted to the earth, we must remember that they were once together; when we see that man is attracted to woman, we must remember that they were once together; when we see that one element or atom has an affinity for another, we must remember that they were once together; in short, when we see anything possessing any connection with anything else, whether by attraction or cohesion, or love or tendency to growth or decay, or inclination to any other quality or form, we must interpret that it is a remnant of the old connection when they were once together.

Not to confine ourselves, however, to these general, and to some extent theoretical phases of the subject, we find if we examine our experience that all known facts are actually connected; so that what our pure speculations hint at *à priori*, we are also cognizant of in our actual observation.

Looking at the known world, we find, in the first place, that all geological facts are connected, and that they point to a connection or system of the whole of our globe and its forces. The seas and continents, and mountains and rivers, all form systems; as also the oceanic, atmospheric, and electric currents; the distribution of rocks, and clays, and metals, and plants, and animals, etc.; all of which are interdependent, and form a greater system of the whole. We cannot understand one sea, one continent, or one kingdom of nature in itself. It does not exist in itself, but has its whole significance in the cluster of all.

The size, shape and contents of the eastern continent, for example, are determined by those of the western; the same laws which produced both having produced in each a series of correspondences and parallelisms. The outline of North America, for example, corresponds to that of Asia; the outline of South America to that of Africa; and the outline of Alaska to that of Europe; and if we take into consideration the basin of the ocean in the neighborhood of each of these, the correspondence runs to very minute detail. For example, in comparing the configuration of North America with that of Asia, we observe that Lower California answers to Arabia; the Gulf of California to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea; Mexico to Hindoostan; the Gulf of Mexico to the Bay of Bengal; Florida to the Peninsula of Siam and Malaca; the West Indies to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Celebes Islands; the Gulf of Savannah to the Gulf of Tonquin and the China Sea; Massachusetts Bay to the Yellow Sea; Nova Scotia to Corea; the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Sea of Japan; Newfoundland to the Japan Islands; the projection of Labrador to that of Manchuria; Davis Straits and Baffin's Bay to the Sea of Okhotsk; and Greenland to Kamtchatka and the western point of Siberia.

In like manner, if we examine the configuration of Alaska as compared with that of Europe, we will find Lake Esquimaux and Hutchins Bay answering to the White Sea; Point Barrow to Lapland; Point Hope to Sweden and Norway; Kotzebue Sound to the North and Baltic Sea; Cape Prince of Wales to the projection of Belgium and France; Norton Sound to the Bay of Biscay; the southwest end of Alaska to Spain; Alaska Island and Peninsula to Sardinia and Corsica; and

Tchongatchis Peninsula to Italy. The mountain ranges and water courses of these two continents are likewise the same, both with reference to their position, the character of the surrounding lands and the depths of the adjoining oceans; and like similarities, too, we could show in every other respect between the eastern and western hemispheres. The northern and southern continents also show the same parallelisms. Comparing them, for example, with reference to their mountain and water courses, which two courses in all countries run parallel, we find that the Rocky Mountains of North America correspond to the Andes of South America, the Alleghanies to the Highlands of Eastern Brazil, the St. Lawrence to the Amazon River, the Mississippi to the La Platte; showing that the same laws at work to produce the several continents have produced them after the same plan, and made them present a like contour. Almost every group of islands in the eastern hemisphere has its corresponding group in the western, arranged in the same order, and corresponding in minute details of number, size, position and proximity to the lands and seas. The islands of Sumatra and Java, with the rest of the Dutch East Indies, correspond in form, size and relative position with the West Indies; and as the former stretch off in a southeasterly direction from the Malayan Peninsula, so the latter stretch off in a southeasterly direction from the peninsula of Florida. So the Azore Islands in the eastern hemisphere correspond with the Sandwich Islands in the western. The same groups, likewise, in the northern hemisphere, have their corresponding groups in the southern, the New Caledonian Islands, for example, corresponding with the Western Islands.

Not to continue unnecessarily comparisons of this kind, we observe, in the next place, that it is the same also through time. The same forces which are now in operation in the world are those which have heretofore been in operation, and produced the world in its present aspects. The present subterranean fires, volcanoes, and earthquakes, the chalk deposits now being made in the beds of the sea, and the descent of the glaciers and icebergs, are the same agencies, or a continuance of the same, as those which heaved up the mountains and sunk down the ocean beds, that made the igneous phenomena or the strata in the rocks, whose formation we attribute to other ages. In other words, we find the forces now working in nature no other than those which worked in past geological ages, and formed the earth into its present characteristics; they are a continuation of the most ancient forces which formed the world itself, and which are divided now into a thousand more minute and various kinds, forming one system together. In other words, the forces of the world form a system as well as do the lands, and seas and rocks, and the forces of the present form a system with those of the past; just as the materials of the present do with those of the past. The same we see, too, if we look at the various species which the plants and animals present. These all show themselves to have been formed from the same originals, on the same plan, by the same courses, and according to the same laws, notwithstanding all the different minutiæ which distinguish them. And not only so, but they show such a connection with each other, that when all the existing species of animals are seen together, as in the Zoölogical Cabinet of Berlin, where they are classified according to the Darwinian, and not according to the Agassiz theory—that is, according to their successive genesis, and not according to their present differences—it appears with irresistible force, that one kind has passed by almost insensible gradations into another, showing an unbroken continuation of the biological forces and forms of the earth, and their connection with the vegetable, chemical and mechanical forces. No breaks are in the chain, no stoppages in the force. Neither the Darwinians nor their opponents admit a possible development where there are missing links such as now separate the species; so that while the Darwinians say the missing links are merely lost, and the others that they were never filled by individuals, the great fact still appears of the connection of all the animals and plants in a system, and of the unbroken succession of the forces which have produced them, which forces are but the outgrowth of the original quantum of force which is recognized in the earliest geological ages, and still more distantly in the cosmical nebula.

Again, we find this connection no less marked and no less minute in historical facts, they following from the same forces and according to the same laws as the geological facts, being the outgrowth of the same matter and the same original motive. If we look at the general outlines and at the details of history we shall find that what men have done in all ages and in all countries presents systems; systems as ages, as nations, and as a whole. These systems, whether of to-day or of all time and all countries, are no less marked and no less unerring in following general laws than are the systems of rivers and mountains, and winds, and flora and fauna, and individual growth of plants and animals. In other words, we find all the acts of men connected in a kingdom together, and in one kingdom of the whole; and not only all their acts, but all their wishes and ideals; and we find them all to be the outgrowth and expression of the original force and substance of the cosmos, as far as this force and substance come under our cognizance.

To pursue this connection more specifically we find, in the first place, that all historical facts are connected with the geological. Even when they are distinct, and when we distinguish the earth from man, we yet find them running in parallel courses, and man guided by the forces of the earth. For example, the great civilizations of the earth have all followed the outlines of the cosmical advantages of climate, water-courses, wood, and defences of mountains, seas, etc. These we cannot here trace in anything like completeness of detail, and shall therefore indicate them only by way of example. Looking at them, then, first in connection with the distribution of heat, we find men first coming into history, as may naturally be expected, in the southern or warm latitudes, where life of all kinds was first produced, and where the earlier forms of life, being simplest, are most easily matured. Heat being the generator of life, and the cradle of its earlier forms, this could not well be otherwise. But as the marshes and thick forest foliage of the tropics were luxuriant with animals and vegetation long before the mountain sides and temperate regions had begun their slow and complicated fauna and flora, the hot countries, and so the south, were the beginning of human as of natural history, the earliest deeds of men being performed on the spot of their origin. We accordingly find men first entering into history in Africa and Southern Asia, in the islands of the South Seas, and in Peru and Mexico, in company with, and scarcely removed from, the great ferns and gorillas which in those parts they still resemble, because not yet developed from their original simplicity and rudeness. Here, we say, there was accordingly a sort of precocious society and civilization which first entered into history and is handed down to us in tradition. This is the first general fact.

And not only so, but we find, in the next place, that, although the southern or warm climates are most favorable for the earlier germs and the simpler forms of life and intellect, so that the south got the start of the north in civilization, it is only in the northern and more hardy climates that the conditions are favorable for the higher and later developments of life; so that as civilization advances and becomes more complicated, it necessarily goes northward. While, therefore, civilization could rise only in Africa and Southern Asia, and the islands of the South Seas, it could develop only in Europe and North America. We accordingly find the march of civilization to be steadily northward, through countries gradually rising in their latitude, colder in their temperature, and more complicated in their mental structure. First it is Egypt and Ethiopia that embrace the civilization of the world; then India; then China; then the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire; then the great Empire of the Medes and Persians; then that of the Syrians and Phœnicians; then Greece; then Rome; then the Italian Republics and Spain; then Austria; then France; and now Prussia, Russia, Engand and the United States, with a gradual tendency to the northern sections even of those countries. And not only so, but in harmony with this northward movement, and running parallel with the course of the world's civilization, we find the northward course of the world's conquests; the conquest of the world successively by Persia, by Greece, by Rome, by Spain and Austria, by France, by Germany, and by Russia, England and the United States. And further, it has been in each case the conquest of the northern over the southward lying nations; the conquest of Persia over Medea; of Greece over Persia and the East; of Macedonia over Greece; of Rome over Carthage and Numidia; of the northern *Italian* nations over Rome; of the Frankish Empire over *Italy; of* Spain over the Moors; of Austria over Spain; of France over Austria; of the North German Confederation over South Germany; of Germany over France; of Russia over Poland and Central Asia; of England over India; of the United States over Mexico; and of the Northern American States over the Southern States. In short, the general course of the conquests has been of the northern nations over the southern, or of cold intellectuality and system over warm feeling and æsthetical spontaneity. And looking still closer at the personal history of these events, we find the same course mapped out for the appearance of the world's conquerors. It has been a successive appearance, more and more to the northward, of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon. And so, too, we might show that it has been a successive triumph of the northern over the southern laws, customs, religions and philosophies; that is, of the more scientific, organized and elaborate over the simple, intuitive, sensuous or ritualistic. In religion, for example, it has been the successive triumph of the Assyrian anthropomorphism over the Egyptian animalism, of Grecian ideal mythology over Eastern symbolism, of Christianity over Roman polytheism, of Mohammedanism over the fetishism of Paganism and of southern Christianity, of reformed Buddism over Brahmanism, of Protestantism over Catholicism; and now, we may say, of rationalism and liberalism over dogmatism and ritualism.

Again, following the race with regard to the water courses, we find that the great civilizations have grown up along the rivers and streams, which, as affording fertility to the surrounding country, and means of navigation, have been the easiest and most natural channels of intercourse and traffic. Egypt grew up on the Nile, Babylon and Assyria on the Tigris and Euphrates, India on the Ganges, Rome on the Tibur, and the colonies of Rome on the Danube and the Rhine. For the same reason the sea coast countries have been the seat of the growth of empires; as India, China, the borders of Arabia, Egypt, Numidia, Asia Minor, Greece, Sicily, Italy, Spain, the British Isles, the coast lands of the North Sea—Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, etc., also Japan, the East Indies, etc. Civilization, moreover, first commenced and radiated about the Caspian Sea, and along the water courses of the Tigris and Euphrates regions, from which it spread to other coast lands; while interior and central Africa and Asia, and northern and central Europe long remained barbarous. We see the same influence of water in the spread and establishment of subsequent colonizations. In Europe, with its gulfs and bays, and endless coasts, there are many civilizations, whereas in Africa there are almost none, in Asia but few, and those on the islands and peninsulas, and in America but one; although the introduction of steam now lessens distance and enables the same civilization to sweep through greater plains and over loftier mountains, which a few centuries ago separated the civilizations in Europe, as also it enables the same civilization now to extend through central Russia and eastern Germany, as well as through the central part of the United States, and to unite the little kingdoms, which heretofore flourished as independent principalities, into great empires.

Again, the navigation of the world and the naval enterprise have been entirely by the coast countries, and particularly the narrow peninsulas and islands—Phœnicia, Rhodes, Carthage, Athens, Corinth, the Ionian Islands, Asia Minor, Sicily, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Great Britain, the United States, etc.; whereas the more inland countries or mere river civilizations have been without maritime importance, as Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Austria, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, etc.

Colonization illustrates the same law. This has been by the sea coast and commercial countries of Phœnicia, Greece, Sicily, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Great Britain, etc. Emigration and the spread of the races is the same. The maritime country of Phœnicia settled Greece and Carthage; the coast country of Troy, according to the old tradition, settled Rome; the Phocæans settled France; the Saxons of North Germany settled Great Britain; the insular Danes and the Normans of the western coast of France conquered and settled Britain in turn; the Spanish and Portuguese settled South America and Mexico; the English settled North America and Australia; the Dutch settled the East Indies. When emigration has taken place by other than coast lands, and gone overland instead of by water, it has been to other inland countries, and been followed generally by the crushing out of civilization and the return of barbarism, as in the great immigrations from the eastern countries westward in prehistoric times, and in the period of the Niebelungen Lied, in the descent of the Goths on Rome, in the march of the Huns and Turks and Arabians over Europe, in the migration of the Franks into France, and in the descent of the Picts and Scots on England, etc.

But, again, as with the distribution of climate and of water, so it is with wood and mountains and every other geological condition; all go to map out the borders of the civilizations, and to determine their respective characteristics. For example, only those countries with natural defences, whether of mountains or water, could long maintain a distinct nationality or consecutive development, and this because protected thereby from inroads by the others; as, for example, Greece, with its mountains on the north, separating it from Europe, and with its seas on the east and south separating it from Asia and Africa; Rome under the shadow of the Apennines; Switzerland, Piedmont, and Tyrol in the Alps; the mountainous countries of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, etc. In the Highlands of these last-named countries the people have continued to this day to resist the conquest of the Saxons and Normans, both in the peculiarities of their customs and in language. With its numerous mountain cantons Switzerland still offers as many separate nationalities as all the rest of Europe; and all the world cannot crush out its independence or its republicanism.

We might show also how the natural conditions make the peculiarities of each civilization—of the types, and occupations, and tastes, and opinions, and religions of the people; how the Italians, for example, under a strong sun and clear sky, are necessarily dark-complexioned, black eyed, black-haired, passionate, and Catholic; how the Danes, under an opposite zone, are light-haired, blue-eyed, intellectual, and Protestant; how the ancient Greeks, with their mines of marble, developed a noble architecture and sculpture, while the Assyrians and Egyptians, with their rough granite, developed only a hideous monstrosity of art; but this would carry us beyond the bounds of this article. A most interesting paper was read in the Anthropological section of the British Scientific Association last year showing that the parish boundaries of Yorkshire, England, follow the chalk and clay formations of the country, and that the position of the churches, the locations of the villages, the boundaries of the farms and pasture grounds, and even the sub-leases have been determined by the geological configuration. The same is true of the settlements in the western States of our own country, even to the position which the pioneer chooses for his house. Though the early settler does not understand the formations of rock and coal beneath him, yet in following the conveniences of healthy position, access to springs or wells, wood, drainage facilities, etc., he follows so invariably the geological formation, that the naturalist now going through the land can determine the subterranean formations from the position of the settlements, and can predict future towns and cities from a study of the geology of the country.

But again, not only are all historical facts connected with the geological, but they are likewise all connected with one another. Nothing historical is isolated from the rest, or out of the system of the whole. Nor is anything out of the chain of causes through time; but every rise of a nation, or policy of a government, or act of a king, or wish even of a private citizen, is to be explained in its relation to all the rest, both contemporary, and preceding and succeeding it. Each is but the manifestation of a force necessary at its time, and appropriate at its place. If, for example, we look at the Reformation of the sixteenth century, we shall find it connected not only in all its parts, but with every other event of that century, and the centuries bordering upon it. It was co-originate in the same great upheaval of social, political, scientific, and philosophic thought which produced at the same time a like reformation in every department of science and of life. For while in religion the age of the Reformation gave us the ecclesiastical systems of Germany, Zurich, Geneva and England, and gave us with them Luther, and Zwingli, and Calvin, and Elizabeth, in philosophy it gave us the systems of Campanella, and DesCartes, and Bacon, and with them an entire revolution in all the methods of speculation and of practical thought. This was the age, too, of classical study and of historical criticism, when Erasmus, and Reuchlin, and Petrarch gave new uses to ancient literature and relics. It was the age of poetical originality and invention, when Dante, and Tasso, and Saxe, and Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, and Spenser flourished; the age of the highest developments of art, when Van Eyck, and Leonardo, and Raphael, and Michæl Angelo, and Titian, and Albert Durer recreated the art of painting and sculpture. It was the age of the greatest triumphs of architectural genius, when St. Peter's at Rome, the Cathedral at Florence, and the matchless palaces of Rome and Venice were built; in short, when the beautiful *renaissance* style of architecture was developed and flourished at its height; the age of the recreation of the natural sciences and astronomy, with new terrestrial and solar systems; the age of Galileo, and Kepler, and Tycho

Brahe; when astrology gave way to astronomy, alchemy to chemistry, theoretical guessing to experiment, tradition to history, superstition to religion, and, in short, the uncertain and the mysterious to the clear and the tangible. It was the age of bold adventure in navigation, when Columbus, and Amerigo, and Cabot made their discoveries; the age of invention, when printing and the telescope were given to the world. It was also the age of political awakening, and of the advancement of civil liberty, when the German free cities and the Italian republics were at their height, and when Machiavelli first made free inquiry into the principles of government. In short, the age of the Reformation was the culminating period of various connected intellectual forces which had been maturing for ages under restraint, and now, under the force of the same law, which temporarily restrained them, broke out in every direction and found their expression in every department of life.

In interpreting the connection of the historical facts with each other, we have, in the next place, several laws by which to unite them, laws enabling us at once to connect them with the metaphysical and the cosmical conditions of their existence, and with each other as purely historical phenomena.

The first law is that of sufficient cause, by which we mean that every historical fact has a dynamic antecedent from which it is evolved, and that this antecedent is equal to the fact itself. We can no more expect nations and individuals to do things without sufficient and appropriate cause than trees, or clouds, or avalanches, or volcanoes. The state which the race presents at any one time, or which any one nation or individual presents, is the result and equivalent of the previous state of historical affairs, just as the geological or meterological state of the earth, or of any one period or part of it, is the result of a previous geological state. Not that anything has but one cause, or a cause of like kind with itself; for the causes of a thing, like a man's parentage, scatter out into numberless legions and complexity as we go back; and in most cases a single thing is the resultant of several immediate forces, as well as of numberless more remote ones; but everything has its causes into which it must be resolved immediately, and which causes themselves may be further resolved *ad infinitum.* The most general law of causality, therefore, considered from this stand point, and looking from the effect to the cause, is, that the effect must all have been in the cause, a law which our pure thought as well as our experience leads us to accept, and one which is deducible from the doctrine enunciated at the beginning of this article, namely, that all things were originally and ultimately one, and have from that unity been evolved or differentiated. We say the whole effect must be in the cause, or the whole subsequent in the antecedent, of which it (the subsequent) is but the continuation. All that exists to-day existed yesterday, but in a different form. The sum of to-day's contents is an equivalent of yesterday's. What is to-day in actuality was yesterday in potentiality, but the quantum of force and matter is permanently the same. It becomes us then, in historical matters, to recognize, and as far as may be to trace out this eternal equation of human events, correlating them, indeed, occasionally with natural and prehistoric forces, but in general resolving them in all their changes into other historical terms. When, accordingly, we account for the Reformation, or for the changes which came over the world in that age, we must look for nothing less than the equivalent of that Reformation or of those changes in the previous state of the people—in their institutions, science, activities, increasing desires and new wants; for that was the form which the forces which showed themselves as the Reformation and revolutions of the sixteenth century existed in the fifteenth, and which naturally and necessarily changed into these. To particularize, if we would account for the Reformation (not now to take in the co-originate movements of that age), we must seek the explanation in a sufficiency of historic reason for all that occurred. Whatever may have been the increased light, instruction and study of that age, these must all have passed through individual insight and feeling, and had their manifestation in personal motive as their immediate or conscious cause. It is a sufficiency of these personal motives, therefore, that we must seek, as well as of general cosmical, periodic, or idealistic causes. As there were great changes of religions, empires and boundaries of states; great uprisings and movements of the people as a whole; wars, diets, councils and disputes; great sacrifices of faith, of congregations, and attachments; of ecclesiastical and political positions and livings; the motive to these —the objective facts of the Reformation—must have been the equal and correspondent in subjective consciousness. In other words, there must be for the Reformation, and so for all historical phenomena, a sufficiency of conscious cause or motive, which alone is the form in which historical causes come into recognizable play. For this motive—equivalent of the forces of the Reformation—we must look farther, then, than the gratuitous indignation of Luther and a few disinterested religionists at Tetzel's selling of indulgences, or than the corruption and errors of Rome, or the aspirations of the northern Christians for a purer and more intellectual religion. These would have done much, but they would not, as immediate causes, have dismembered the Germanic Italian empire, or fed the thirty years' war with fuel. We must look at the aspiration of the German dukes to become kings, which they could hope to do only by breaking off from the central empire, and from Rome, its spiritual head, which allowed but one to be the Emperor, and made all the rest simply electors. We must look also to the rivalries of powerful cities and houses; as of Nuremburg and Bamberg, Augsburg and Ulm, Constance and Zurich, Strasburg and Frankfort; at the jealousies of the states—Sweden, France, England, Spain, Austria; at the conflicting interests of coast and inland peoples; and at a thousand other circumstances that we cannot enumerate here. In all of these, one or other of which racked almost every mind of the age with interest and personal anxiety, we must look for an equivalent in motive of all the great upheavals which followed as the Reformation. But whatever may be the shape of the motive, whatever the individual interest, we must have in it a sufficient cause. For men are not insanely inclined to act without sufficient reason; and the reason for an action is the shape in which the cause gets before it comes into a historical phenomenon, and we cannot expect one man's interest or a sufficiency of it to influence others; but everybody must have a sufficiency of personal interest, real or supposed, to make him act. And it is this sufficiency, brought down to every heart, that must be sought for as the cause in history.

But, in the next place, it is a law of historical phenomena, not only that everything must have a cause, and that the full effect must be in the cause, but also, conversely, that everything must have an effect, and that the full cause must be in the effect. This is what we should logically deduce from the general fact that everything is evolved out of the same original quantum of materials and force, and that at all times the whole presents an equality. The whole at one instant is the cause of the whole at the next. The antecedent is therefore all found in the subsequent, whatever may be the changes that have been undergone. Such is the general, metaphysical, or cosmical law. This, however, is the case also with the more particular concrete and individual things and forces of the world into which the whole has differentiated itself. Everything and every force once in existence is always in existence. When therefore we have a historical fact, just as when we have a geological fact, we must look to see it remain, and never to pass from history. Its results will pass into other forms, and among other peoples and nations, but they will always be found in full force somewhere. And so, too, when we have once a force we must expect it to act; so that we can never get rid of it, or stay it in history. Knowing the antecedents, the consequents must always follow; and the future, whatever it is to be, is to be made out of the present; and that present, moreover, is nothing else than what it has been made by the past. We can from this readily see how we can infallibly judge the future by the past, since there is not only an analogy but a dynamic connection between them. In knowing the past we know the identical materials of the future; and if we understand all the forces at any time and calculate the period of their manifestation, we can foretell the future—historical events as well as eclipses—with unerring certainty.

Since, therefore, there are these two laws, or phases of the same law, namely, that everything historical has its appropriate and sufficient cause, and also its definite appropriate and necessary effect, history becomes a science, and not a mere collection of fortuitous facts, a science like geology or chemistry, where the working of the elements in human affairs, just as in the earth or in the laboratory, are seen to produce unerringly their appropriate quantitative and qualitative results. For the laws and causes in both are the same, and are learned by the same process. The recognition of this fact has created of late a revolution in the writing of history, and given rise to the philosophy of history. History, instead of being written as heretofore by Thucydides, and Livy, and Hume, and Robertson, is taking the form of Lessing's, Schlegel's, Hegel's, Guizot's, and still more of Buckle's, Draper's and Spencer's writings, where the facts are linked with the original forces, and traced out in their necessary connections; and where not merely the founding of cities, laws and institutions, the election of rulers, the fighting of battles, and the formation of customs are the subjects and ultimate elements of history, but the climatic forces, the distribution of the elements, the shifting of the snow lines and of the storm centres, the development of thought and ideas from the cosmical advance of the ages, and the acquisitions accumulate experience, etc.

All these are impressing mutations on humanity, and must be recognized in a scientific setting forth of human actions. A nation, an idea, an act can no more get out of its place in history than a volcano-flame or a stone can get out of its elliptical course in rising or falling. When Hegel saw, from following the logical development of thought in his History of Philosophy, that the thought of some of the ancient sages could not have occurred in the centuries to which they were respectively accredited, but must occur at other periods, he confidently maintained that such philosophers did not live in their alleged periods, but assigned for them places sometimes hundreds of years earlier or later. Subsequent investigations, purely historical and antiquarian, have verified his suggestions. The thoughts and actions of all men in every age are not only in system, but each is in its place, proceeding with the harmony of a cotton spindle which puts its threads and knots each in one place, at one time, and in one way, and can do it no otherwise. The fact that men are recognizing this is making a revolution not only in history, but in the interpretation of nature in every department. In fact, the hour is coming and now is when we shall demand science in everything—a scientific method, arrangement and mastery of all our phenomena; making not only history but religion, trade and whatever else has not yet yielded to definite laws and rules of calculation, take its place and importance in the general organism and precession of historic thought.

But again, although nature is thus one, and its forces are correlated one with another, and are all working from the same original impulse, yet, since this working is through changes of form and kind in nature, we must, when we come to human or social affairs, translate the physical into terms of the historical. We have seen, for example, in speaking of the connection of the historical with the geological phenomena, that the progress of the civilizations of the earth has been gradually northward. But this northward progress did not take place without historical events and transactions as its cause and course. Civilizations did not shift northward with the quiet and regularity of the isothermal lines which they followed. When we interpret these physical conditions of civilization into history, we find wars and conquests, overturnings and refoundings of nations, schemes and conspiracies, disputes and councils. What in the physical world is a mere increase of cold and of productiveness in the soil, is in history an increase of liberality in institutions, of spontaneity of thought, of determination in character, of discovery in science, and of culture in refinement and art. Heat and wind, and air and water, are transmuted into motives of ease and luxury, and ambition, and patriotism, and conquest. We find, accordingly, that parallel with the course of the ruling nations northward, we have, as we have already shown, the northward course of the world's conquests; for the historical concomitants of a change in national supremacy is a conquest. So we find that parallel with the intellectualizing of the religions as the course of the reformations, reformations being the historical concomitants of a change in religion. And so parallel with the liberalizing of political institutions is the course of revolutions, revolutions being the historical concomitants of change in governmental principle. And so parallel in general with the advancing course of science and philosophy is the course of investigations and disputes, these being the historical concomitants of intellectual progress generally.

Again, if we take a glance at the particular courses of history, or regard the different nations, peoples, customs, and acts in their respective peculiarities, we will find that they are not only dependent on one another, but that every resemblance, every parallel, every repetition of history in fact, arises from the connection which, either historically or cosmologically, once existed in the whole. Not to trace out these lines of descent of influence or of determination of characteristic through all their courses, nor to follow them back to the general or physical forces of the world, we observe, in the first place, that all civilization has been derived one from another. We have already seen how the civilizations have gradually gone northward, and how the great nations have conquered one another in the march of supremacy. But we will find also that as one civilization went down, and one nation gave way to another, it left its influence to its conquerors or successors. We see the same if we look at the new rising nations. Each one has drawn its civilization from some preceding one. It has merely been transferred, handed over, and further developed. We must not here look for breaks, for great losses of human acquisitions, for entire new creations. Thus Medea gave way to Persia, Persia to Syria and Phœnicia, Syria and Phœnicia to Greece, Greece to Rome, Rome to the Italian and the northern states. We have no example in history of a nation rising up out of barbarism without a historical antecedent. Spain and France received their civilization from Rome; Germany hers from the time when she came in contact with Rome; England hers from Germany and France—the Saxons and Normans; Russia hers from the infusion of northern Romanized peoples among her population. Where people have been isolated, as the North American Indians, or the Sandwich Islanders, there has been no civilization. In short, if we look at any nation that has existed, we can see where it has gone, and if we look at any that now exists, we can see where it has come from. The general law is that nation goes into nation and civilization into civilization; and, conversely, that nation comes from nation and civilzation from civilization.

Not only is this so in general, but if we examine in the next place the peculiarities of peoples or nations closely, we shall find that their respective elements are to be found in each according to their origin. France is what it is because derived from the Romans, England because derived from the Saxons, Norway because derived from the ancient Scandinavians. The formality of the French, whether in their thought or outward life, by which they are republican, imperial, and communistic, according to their standpoint, and by which they are theoretical, demonstrative, and polite, is the same as the republicanism, imperialism, agrarianism, ideality, and civility of the ancient Romans. In England, any close observer going through the counties can mark out in the physical characteristics and customs of the people what districts were settled by the Normans and what by the Saxons. In Pennsylvania and the other parts of the United States settled by the Germans, you can see Germany reproduced in the minutet particulars, even to the cheese, sausage, feather beds, and methods of building and farming. In short, the civilization hands itself down just as does the race in the immigration through which a people is derived; the civilization of the Normans and of the modern Germans, in the cases mentioned, being equally observable with the lines of the face, which betray the physical origin. Are the Dutch brave and laborious? So were the Batavians before them. Are the Germans fond of lager beer? So were their ancestors in the time of Tacitus. Are they Christians? Have they the civil law? Are they imperial? That they got from the Romans. The French are not gay, light and impulsive without reason; but they have derived it from their Romanic origin. If they have little mouths, it is from their long pronouncing of their *u*. The English have not thick jaws and broad lower faces but from the fact of their German origin, or their peculiar nose but from a crossing of the Norman and Celtic blood. If the Irish pronounce their *i* *oi* it is because of their bringing together of the closely-fitting French accent of *a* with the German broad *a*. In fact, there is little in habit, look, language, or pronunciation but can be traced from its origin through all the civilizations. These forces follow unspent through the civilizations and nations, and languages and customs, just as the water that passes through the ocean rises in clouds, and flows again through the rains and rivers. There is not a word in any modern language but has had as circuitous a course as any drop in the Mississippi. Why is *Orleans* called thus but from the *Aurelianum* of the Romans? Why is it now pronounced and written as it is but because of the genius of the Celts and Franks, which impressed it with the mould of their organs and prior language? Why is the word *Giulio* and *fiori*, in the Italian, but because it was *Julius* and *flores* in the Latin? and why is it pronounced differently in the one from the other, and with just this difference, but from the fact that the Italian lassitude compelled them to break off easily the terminations of their words and round them with vowel sounds? It would be an easy matter to trace likewise the laws, institutions, and ideas of every age, people, and civilization from the preceding; for these have been of uniform and necessary development, as well as the language, the races, or the species of animals.

Again, if we look at the sciences we will find the same connection in nature. Each science, in any age or state of development, will be found to be derived from the previous developments of the same, and to show a unity in itself and in the intellectual forces of the race. If we follow back the sciences in their history, we shall find these facts to hold universally. First, they all commenced, as germs, in prehistoric times, or at least are known to us as existing at the last date to which we can pursue anything back, with legends there of their having been derived from still earlier times, legends not, indeed, of their origin, but of their derivation from some ancient foreigner or supernatural source. Thus arithmetic, which is first known to us in a treatise by Euclid, is claimed to have been introduced into Greece by Thales, and that he got it from the Egyptians. Or if we trace it back in the Asiatic nations, and other lines that have had little connection with us, we will find it among the Chinese at a very early period in the use of the Abacus, and among the Hindoos at a still earlier period, in a numerical system with ten as a basis. So algebra, which is commonly supposed to be of modern origin, was introduced by Deophantus, an Alexandrian, from the East. Or tracing it in its line through the Arabians into Spain, from whom we have received it, we have the Arabians' account that they received it from the Hindoos. So our geometry, which is essentially that of Euclid, was originally gotten from Egypt. Astronomy was cultivated before the Christian era by Chaldeans, Egyptians, Hindoos, Chinese, Phœnicians, and Greeks; by the Chaldeans as early as 2070 B. C.

Every branch of natural science was likewise known in the most ancient times, the earliest authentic history of the Egyptians and Assyrians representing their priesthood as highly versed in it. Chemistry may be traced back in its European ascent to the Saracens, and through them to the Egyptians; or through the Spanish and Moorish line to the Arabians, and thence to the Egyptians. Of mineralogy we need hardly say that it is of most ancient origin, since gold, silver, copper and brass, as also pottery, were common to all ancient peoples, and brass implements go back beyond the historic age. Geography, likewise, runs back out of our sight altogether. Egyptian tradition ascribes the invention of maps to Sesostris, who flourished 1618 years before Christ, and the science to Hermes or Mercury. Geology, too, which is commonly thought to be the most recent of sciences, may be traced back to the Genesis of Moses, to the earliest Greek speculations, and to the cosmogonies of the oldest Arabian, Egyptian and Hindoo sages. The trebular hypothesis itself can be traced back to the anticipations of Thales. In like manner we might trace back meteorology, botany, zoology, physiology, anatomy and medicine, each invariably to some ancient Hippocrates, Egyptian priest, or Indian sage.

But not only can every science be traced back until it is lost in the midst of legends and traditions, or vanishes in prehistoric times; but, in the next place, it may be followed thence downward in unbroken succession, gradually developed from those germs, evolved by regular logical and rational force, without any breaks or creative discoveries or inventions. Nothing has been lost of what was once known, any more than of what once existed. Nothing has been added to the original conception which was not in it potentially as a germ. The idea in those ancient germs had to develop, and has developed, like the oak from the seed, or the man from the child; and the subsequent branchings and maturings of the scions is but the natural outgrowth. The advances of the sciences we might show to be of the regularity of an organic growth. Fact has been added to fact, principle to principle, law to law, method to method, each acquisition preserved, and the whole now presenting the totality of the evolutions, and the progress equalling the sum of the advances. Where there have been apparent creations, or breaks, or leaps, the regular evolution has been going on, if not before the public, yet in some individual mind; for science is a growth through many branches, and not through one alone.

To illustrate by the science of astronomy, we can trace the developing and ripening of our present system from those crude and ancient germs which we saw to exist in Babylon, Chaldea and China. Commencing with the observation at Babylon of the lunar eclipses about the year 720 B. C., we have next the discovery of the cause of lunar eclipses by Thales in 670, which, implying as it did the spherical form of the earth, this fact also was then evolved. Next Pythagoras correlates the earth with other worlds, and traces out the celestial motions. Then Hipparchus, armed with these facts, begins his new cycle of the moon. Ptolemy next determines the precessions of the equinoxes, and the places and distances of the planets. Then, although for seven centuries astronomy seemed to be neglected, and the discoveries thus far made lost, it was nevertheless kept up in Arabia, from whence it was again brought into Europe by the Moors of Barbary and Spain.

Then followed, by the regular steps of a logical development, or geometric demonstration, the production of the Alphonsine tables, the use of clocks in astronomy, the elaboration of the system of the planetary motions, by Copernicus; the further advancement of the same by Tycho Brahe; the enunciation of the true laws of the planetary motions, by Kepler; the discovery of telescopes and other astronomical instruments, by Metius, Galileo and others; the discovery by Harrocks of the transit of Venus over the sun's disk; the drawing of the meridian line of Cassini (after Dante); the discovery by Horrebow of the aberration of the light of the fixed stars; the construction of the charts of the moon, by Scheme, Langrenus, Riccioli, and others; the further discoveries of Huggins and Roemer; the demonstrating of the motion of the sun around its own axis, by Halley; and the enunciation of the dynamic laws of our system, by Newton; then a catalogue of the stars, by Flamstead; the discovery of the satellites of Saturn, by Cassini; the explanation of the aberration of the stars, by Bradley; the finding of the celestial inequalities, by LeGrange; the discovery of Uranus and satellites, by Hershel; the generalized system of La Place in his *Mécanique Céleste*, the discovery of the planet Neptune; and finally the application of spectrum analysis to the light of the sun and stars. The whole of what we know of astronomy to-day is the sum of these accretions developed by the same laws as the aggregate human mind.

Or, if we take any particular branch of a science where we can follow the process of development more closely, we will see the same thing. Look, for example, at spectrum analysis. This did not spring full-born from the head of Kirchhof or Bunsen, without any historical antecedents, but is of regular and logical growth through the sciences and scientific experiments. Not to go farther back than to when it became a distinct subject of investigation, the dark lines of the solar spectrum were first observed by Wollaston, in 1802. These were then investigated and mapped out by Frauenhofer, in 1854, who also examined the spectra of the fixed stars. In the next place Hershel, Talbot, Miller, Foucault, and Swan investigated the spectra of colored flame; then Kirchhof and Bunsen placed the whole subject on a scientific basis. Next the spectrum analysis was applied to the light of the fixed stars by Donati, Huggins, Miller, and Secchi; then to nebula and comets by Huggins; then, in 1868 and 1871, to observations of solar eclipses; then to the electric spark, by Whetstone; then to the later experiments of Augstroem, Stokes, Draper, and others, until we have it in its present state.

Or, if we take a single invention, which, if anything, seems to be of individual and independent origin, we will see the same law of development through the historic mind. Take, for example, that of printing. This instead of bursting suddenly on the mind of the inventor and on the world, grew up gradually and organically like a nation, or a science, or a tree. So imperceptibly was its growth that nobody knows when it first appeared; and different men, different nations, and different ages claim its invention. Koster, of Harlem, first used blocks to print and pasted the leaves together, having printed them only on one side. Faust, of Mayence, made an advance and invented books, having printed the first. Guttenberg, of Germany, made type out of metal, cutting them with the hand. Schœffer found a means to cast metal type. Blaess improved the press in various ways. Stereotype printing was suggested by William Ged, of Edinburg, which is further improved by Tilloch. The printing machine is suggested by Nicholson and introduced by Kœnig. Then we have steam machinery applied to printing; then the Columbian press, then the Albion then the introduction of the roller; then the substitution of rollers for balls, by Cooper and Applegarth; then the various improvements for chromo and telegraphic printing, etc. The whole is an idea in the world which must get out and express itself in its various branches of usefulness as certainly as the tree its flower or the planetary system its seasons.

Or take, in the next place, a system of government, laws, or customs, and you will see the same fact illustrated. Looking, for example, at maritime law, it will be found to have first taken form among the Rhodians about 900 years before Christ, they being the first to possess a sea code. Commencing with them, we find all subsequent codes or systems to be but a development and outgrowth of theirs as a germ. First we find this code introduced into Greece for the building up of Athens, as a naval power under Pericles; then into Rome, to serve, except as modified in a single title of the Pandects, for the commerce of that empire; then, thus further modified, into the sea laws of the Republic of Amalphi, in Italy, which, though superseding the Rhodian laws in form, are the same in historic substance; then into a compilation of the usages and laws of the Mediterranean powers, called the *Consolato del Mare;* then in the laws of Oleron borrowed for the Atlantic States, from the Rhodian laws and the Consolato, the alterations and additions being mere adaptations to the trade of western Europe; then in the laws of Wisby, compiled by the merchants trading in the Baltic, and modified from the laws of Oleron to suit the northern coast nations; then in the renowned laws of the Hanseatic League—Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg—which in turn were derived from the laws of Oleron and Wisby for this new asylum of European commerce; then in the French ordinance of Colbert, and the more modern ordinances of Barcelona, Florence, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Copenhagen, and Konigsberg; which again have anticipated our law merchant, and become the maritime law of modern times.

So we might show, also, that every philosophical system, and every modern conception of morality or liberty, has come to us through like advances and development; and in general that every subject of knowledge and activity, whether an institution, an idea, or a general sympathy, has arrived at its present state through successive individual acquisitions and efforts; and that for this there has been a transmission of unbroken force through regular organic growth objectively, and strict logical elaboration as consciousness.

But again, and finally, the unity of our world may be seen running through the general growth and ideal of our thought as a whole; so that what appears in the particular sciences, institutions and ideas as separate constituents and elements of this law, may be seen in philosophy or metaphysics as a general whole, having the same character. The world, in self-evolving, according to the nebular hypothesis, goes on in its changes to produce man, and in man to produce thought. Now this thought, becoming self-acting in a degree, next goes on internally to produce (as representation or knowledge) something like the various things of the world which surround it—that is, to reproduce internally a resemblance to the world. Now, since our thought or knowledge, with the advance of the ages and sciences, becomes more and more like the things known—that is, more and more like the truth, or the world—we are coming gradually to know the world as it is. In as far as we come so to know the world, which is certainly the tendency of our knowledge, there will be a full reproduction of the world as thought. In other words, our thought shall then have produced, or rather shall then be, a world like that which produced it. And so, since it is the world which in the first place produced our thought, and so mediately produced this thought-semblance of the world, it is the world which has produced an internal world like itself. Therefore, taking the whole chain of the process together, the world is going on to reproduce itself again as thought, or to become thought through the medium of this internal world. The world is changing from an insentient cosmical substance to a living consciousness, or from a world of matter to a like world of mind; from an objective world to a subjective world. So that, if we complete the ideal of this process, which is only an ideal, but whose laws and direction we already see, and conceive the whole objective world to go on and on producing more and more thought, until it all comes to consciousness, and our knowledge, or the internal representation, to go on and on, coming nearer and nearer to the truth, until it is a knowledge of the world as it is, the two will finally come to coincide, and the world be all thought, and thought be the equivalent or identical of the world; so that there will finally be left nothing but the consciousness of the world, or the world will all have passed off into thought, a supposition which is the more conceivable and plausible, since (in our *à priori* speculations at least) it is a philosophic axiom that to know a thing as it is, the knowledge must become the thing or coincide with it throughout; in other words, that at the bottom thought and being are the same, having the relation to each other of self-consciousness. But this idea we have not the space to pursue, nor is it in the spirit of our present inquiry. We merely mention the tendency in this direction to complete the idea we would in this article set forth of the entire unity of the world and its history through all its changes, past and prospective. We shall only state in conclusion that since all these changes—changes by which the world in its circle of existence comes at last to be a consciousness resembling its former unconscious self—were contained as a germ in the original nebular mass from which they have been and are being evolved; so that, as we said at the beginning, these subsequent developments, or this future all consciousness of the world, is part of the original developing existence and substance of the whole, which is not at any one place or time, but runs for its existence through all this circle, and has its being in all extension and in all duration.

In general, therefore, it will be seen that there is a unity of our whole world, in which the ultimate metaphysical principles, the cosmical facts and forces, and the historical phenomena are all embraced, and in which the whole known universe is seen to be not only an entirety, but preserved as a single monadical existence through all its changes.

ART. II.—1. *On the Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages and Inclosures of the Sixteenth Century in England.* Translated from the German of E. NASSE, by H. A. CEUVRY. Cobden Club Series. London. 1871.

2. *Les Œuvriers europèens. Études sur les Travaux, la Vie domestique et la Condition morale des populations œuvrières de l'Europe, etc.* Par M. F. LE PLAY. Paris. 1855.

3. *Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries.* Tracts collected and published under sanction of the Cobden Club. London. 1872.

4. *Village-Communities in the East and West.* By Sir HENRY MAINE, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. London. 1871.

THE careful journalist of English investigation in India, during the last few years, will remember, amid sheaves of notes as to the antiquity of the Vedas and the physiology of apparent death as practised by the rajahs, stray jottings here and there, concerning the existence of social groups known as village-communities. But it seems never to have occurred to the general student, that in this one social fact was to be sought the germ of Aryan or Hindu-European politics and land tenure; although since the publication of that in some respects remarkable book, Max Müller's "Science of Religion," it has been conceded that the ancient types of religion represented in Europe had their origin in Hindoostan, and that the germ of them all, however wrought into fretwork of mythology, is still extant in the nature-worship of the old Hindu religion.

Concerning the manner in which the two great mythologies, the Greek and Teutonic, originated, critics are not agreed; but recent discoveries, showing the existence of a homogeneous race in Europe long anterior to the Aryan occupation—a race that waged destructive and often successful wars with the Egyptians long before Moses—have rendered it probable that the Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes, at their advent in Europe, absorbed the literature and culture of a pre-existing, and, perhaps, aboriginal Turanian stock. The primitive religion of the latter appears to have been a species of ancestor-worship. Professor Huxley has no hesitation in ascribing the occasional occurrence of dark-haired, swart-skinned, and long-headed men in Teutonic families to the persistence of this absorbed race; and the general facts of distribution strikingly support his generalization.

The ancient religion of the Aryan races in Europe is, therefore, a mixed type, for which nature-worship supplied the psychological basis and ancestor-worship the legendary form or mythology. It follows that the great mass of ancestral legend, interwoven with the religion of the Hellenes, was universal from an exterminated or absorbed Turanian family, once in occupancy of the whole area of southern Europe. This ancient stock, of which examples are extant in the sculptures of Egypt, was pre-eminently a sea-going race, carried on an extensive commerce with the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and very likely laid the foundations of the great seaport cities of the Mediterranean—perhaps, of Rome itself, though the egotism of the race that supplanted them lays claim by legend to that distinguished honor. It was eradicated, however, leaving no historical remains, unless the Aquitani of France, described by Cæsar, were members of it. It is very likely that the tumuli and dolmens of Europe and Algiers, that have so sadly puzzled the acute Lubbock, are shrine-graves relict of this ancient race, for they occur more frequently in Aquitanian than in other parts of France, and more frequently in maritime than in central Europe; but it will require a vast deal of investigation to demonstrate this point scientifically. All that can now be said is that this form of burial, so far as it was prevalent with the Celtic and Gothic races, appears to have been a borrowed form —the survival of a prehistoric people. To what extent this prehistoric people had explored the geography of the ocean, it is impossible even to guess; but the recent discovery of Phœnician inscriptions in Brazil points irresistibly to the conclusion, that a maritime race, intimate with the Phœnicians, must have known and explored this continent, ere yet the Hindu-European migration that afterwards overwhelmed them had commenced. Was the legend of Atlantis, as related by Plato, a survival and distorted shadow of prehistoric discovery? Were the legends of wonderful lands in the west, of gardens of Hesperides, and the like, that to the modern ear read like romances, so many distorted vestiges of an ancient Turano-European civilization?

These questions must be left to the answer of the ages. Our first historic glimpses of Europe represent it as peopled by Aryan races not yet risen to historical consciousness, broken into small and often contending tribes, and here and there, at favorable points, developing centres of civilization, from whence sprang cities. On the extreme verge of the historic horizon lies the land of legend celebrated in the Homeric poems; yet Dr. Schliemann has had to dig through the remains of two dead cities to find that described by Homer, and has thus destroyed the hypothesis that regards the Trojan war as a legend to be allegorically interpreted. Strangely enough, too, though curiously coincident with the suggestions of the preceding paragraph, Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, in his recent Babylonian and Assyrian excavations, has brought to light the undoubted original of the descent into hell, or the under-world, as it appears in Hellenic literature, in Virgil, and finally in Dante. Now, the ancient Turanians of Europe had an undoubted affinity with the Asiatic Turanians; and in this legend occurs, therefore, the first demonstrated example of Turanian survival in Hindu-European literature.

To dwell upon these points would require an article, not an introduction; and the subject must be here dismissed with the remark that, for the last ten years, the whole tendency of investigation has pointed to the hypothesis that the now inhabited world was pre-historically peopled by a more or less homogeneous stock, and that the ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, were developed by this race, ere yet the primitive Aryans had descended from the table lands of Central Asia. It is needless to add that the great cities of Asia Minor undoubtedly had their origin with this family. They were city-builders, hewers of rocks into shrines and temples. They "went down to the sea in ships." At various favorable centres they rose to a high degree of sensuous civilization, and have left vestiges of an art and literature as strange in some aspects as geological fossils. Indeed, the dragons and griffins of mythology, perhaps its werewolves and Medusas, certainly most of its monsters, are relics of the strangely imaginative people that went before in clearing Europe for Aryan occupation. Their art took the distinctive direction of sculpture. They played the flute, as the discovery by M. Lartet, of pre-historic instruments, conclusively indicates. But when the Aryan came they melted away.

It is with the Aryan occupation that this paper is principally concerned, and of its primitive social group examples occur in the extant but fast-vanishing village communities of Hindustan.

The village community, as representative of the Aryan political unit, may be defined as a group of families, settled on a tract of land that maintains them, and which they hold on the principle of common ownership, more or less fully in practical operation. Sir Henry Maine's investigations have shown that society, becoming consolidated in the agricultural stage, began in early ages to form such organizations, or, rather, from the nature of the social unit, the family, naturally fell into groups of families, more or less connected by ties of consanguinity. Noah and his sons present an instance of groups of this kind. The social group that consolidated itself about Abraham is another example. In the instances of the Jews is presented an example of a family developing into a great nation; but it is at first merely a family that, after the death of Jacob, circumstances unite to keep together. This case also illustrates the origin of tribal distinctions, for each of the sons of Jacob became the founder of a tribe, while he himself was the founder of a race. Those who have examined the social system of the American Indians, find a similar organization into groups or villages, each of which, within certain limits, is self-acting; and, indeed, except as an arbitrary invention, to which people were not given in those days, there is no possible way of accounting for political organization and for political divisions, however limited. Authority would thus be vested in the patroon as long as he lived, and his sons and their families would find in him the natural arbiter of all differences. On the death of the father the question of authority would naturally come up, and thus the law of primogeniture—the eldest inheriting the rights of his father—has for its first cause one of the necessities of primitive society, and is, no doubt, relict of primitive social order. The beginnings of the inquiry into this subject are hidden in the dark places of ancient history, but its facts are appropriated to every department of modern life, particularly to those of land-tenure and political division. Thus the modern country represents the ancient tribal distinction, while the modern town is the direct descendant of the village-community. It is thus clear how it happens that in England the county court is the oldest of known tribunals, as Starkie observes in his learned work on evidence. The same fact (of a relation between the ancient tribal and the modern county distinction) serves to show that the investigation of this now unfamiliar social institution is not a barren antiquarian task, but a question of practical importance, and one offering the key to many an apparent anomaly in land-tenure.

For example, the peasantry of ancient England habitually lived in village-communities, and English land-law cannot be rightly understood except by considering how this primitive social group underlay the feudal system. Again, the history of these associations, and the study of them from life in India, have so direct a bearing on certain modern projects of communism that the neglect of the subject that has hitherto prevailed, except in Germany, is inexcusable. In general, communism implies a return to the social system of our ancestors during the semi-nomade, semi-agricultural period. It would retrace the processes that enter into the complex structure of modern society, unravel the vast results of feudalism, and start the world anew upon the primitive basis of the year 3000 B. C. Nevertheless, it is required to study the system from life, as it appears in Hindustan, and to investigate its capabilities with the calm scrutiny of science, before assuming to pronounce against schemes advocated, in some form or other, by men like John Stuart Mill and George Henry Lewis, in England, and by a host of enthusiasts in France. The presumptions of history are clearly against communistic landhold and cultivation as the new nostrum to cure the social system of its many disorders, especially when it is remembered that our ancestors began life with a universal experiment in that direction.

But, as a critic no less acute than Mr. Mill remarks, it by no means follows that our ancestors voluntarily abandoned common possession and culture. On the other hand, it was gradually wrested from them by various means. Probably, in most instances, rule first became hereditary in families, and thus hereditary distinctions were gradually evolved. Next, feuds would spring up between leading families, factions would form about them, and a struggle for supremacy would commence, to end in the extermination of one faction and its reduction to slavery. In other instances, wars between tribes would result in depriving one combatant or the other of landhold rights, reducing the tribe to the condition of serfs, holding at the will of the conqueror. Thus a powerful mercenary element would be created, ready at a moment's notice to follow an ambitious lord in his crusade on popular privileges, and constituting a standing menace to the tribes occupying neighboring tracts. In this manner feudal lords would extend their possessions, and new titles, such as duke (leader) and prince (one who stands first), would be created by way of expressing an acquired superiority. The reigning family of Prussia, for example, was founded by a thrifty old fellow who first made money, then bought a title and its appurtenances. The rest came by way of the sword. In like manner the reigning family of Italy sprang from the obscure, but aggrandizing, House of Savoy—a stock that for four centuries, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth, never scrupled to sell a friend at a fair price, nor to kiss the great toe of a puissant enemy. The thrones of Europe, from first to last, rest on rights wrested from feudal lords, and the castles of the feudal lords represent, stone by stone, rights wrested from the people.

The process of feudalization was, therefore, only one step in the evolution of great states, and by studying the map of Europe, century by century, the student is able to trace this evolution step by step. One of the most valuable contributions that could be made to historical literature would be a history of the great states of Europe, topically arranged, and accompanied with maps, showing the aggrandizing process stage by stage. Imperial Germany is the latest completed of these great political divisions, and perhaps it would be well to begin with a fresh instance. From ancient Egypt to modern Germany the rule holds good, that the origin of states is traceable to the village-community. The great ancient states of Western Asia were erected from the same political unit by the same aggrandizing process. Greece and Rome, in their glory, furnish examples of a universal law lying at the very basis of political evolution. Indeed, the syllable *zar* forming the termination of the names of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, as Belshazzar—that is to say, Belsha-zar—reappears in the Persian *shah* and the Slavonic *tsar*, and it is very likely, though not demonstrably certain, that the Arabic *sheik* belongs to the same root, with, possibly, the Latin *Cæsar* and the German *kaiser*. Thus, as in language, there occurs a period of aggregation or agglutination, so in states; and in both instances this period precedes and lays the foundation for the period of structural crescence. Here, again, in the more comprehensive view of the subject, the reader can scarcely fail to discern the necessary connection that exists between history and geography—a connection that can only be neglected at the cost of putting jumble and confusion in the place of clearness and accuracy of historical information, to say nothing of losing sight altogether of the higher philosophical aspects of historical literature.

But before proceeding further with inferential generalization, it may be well to follow Sir Henry Maine for a paragraph in his explanation of the origin of the village-community as the primeval unit of bodies politic. The learned Oxford professor differs materially in his opinions from that influential school of ethnologists who look for the origin of society in an extremely low condition of primitive man. Those who have read Mr. J. F. M'Lennan's treatise on "Primitive Marriage," or Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization," and have accepted unreservedly the views promulgated in either work, will find in Sir Henry Maine's "Village-Communities," and in his "Ancient Law," many reasons for modifying their opinions. Sir Henry accepts the family theory of the state of primeval man in society; and man out of society, with due deference to Sir William Blackstone's clever fiction of a solitary man who yields certain individual rights to the general good, is not man; the individual being born with relations to the general that preclude Blackstone's presumption of solitude. This family he defines as a group of men, women, non-adults, and slaves, of animate and inanimate property, all connected together by common subjection to the paternal power. He makes no attempt to account for this group, complex as it is, by evolution from a lower social condition, but declares, on the other hand, that it is to be accepted as a primary social fact, the explanation of which lies among the mysteries of human nature. Of course, doctrines as to the primitive condition of society, so full in their illustration and so ably defended as those of Lubbock and M'Lennan, cannot be dismissed with mere cursory criticism, though clearly of a speculative nature; speculative, because, in point of fact, there never was a date when families did not exist and constitute the social unit. The individual unit and the social unit have, in other terms, immemorially co-existed, the one being as necessary to the idea of man as the other. Of course, *à priori*, it is logical to suppose that there must have been men and women before there were families. So think Lubbock and M'Lennan. On the other hand, Sir Henry Maine may well plead that there must have been families before there were men and women. *In medias ibis.* The truth is, there are no facts bearing upon the question; and in the nature of the case, man and the relations springing directly from the traits of his organization, are complementary parts of the same idea. Sir Henry Maine thus plants himself firmly upon facts as a starting-point, avoiding all speculative issues.

It seems, however, as if he might have simplified his primary group a little, by dropping the institution of slavery, or regarding it as the result of wars between families and the consequent capture of prisoners. There are many facts in favor of simplifying the subject to this extent; for this process of slave-making is one daily repeated among barbarous and nomade tribes.

The family, as has been noted, on the death of the father finds itself confronted with the question of authority. This question would be one of importance; for, with ordinary longevity on the part of the ancestor, the third or fourth generation is already in existence, and the group may number from fifty to sixty adult males, exclusive of slaves. This family, on the death of its head, tends to segregate into several smaller groups, each under its head of the second generation. Let an original family, occupying a tract of land in tillage and pasture, thus in a few generations separate into groups of households, but without division of the common land. Or, on the death of the grandfather, let several families emigrate together and occupy in common some out-lying tract. The result under either supposition is a village-community.

In a simple agricultural life such political units would persist and grow for generations, until they developed into powerful tribes, or were extinguished by war. Those most favorably situated along the margins of rivers, or on the sea-shore, would develop into cities, independent of the surrounding country, and, because wealthy, in need of strong walls, well-manned, to protect themselves from the predatory incursions of adjacent tribes. Wars would follow to avenge these incursions, out-lying tribes would be reduced to submission. Thus ancient cities were practically the nuclei of states, exercising a decided hegemony in public affairs by virtue of conquest. Nineveh, Babylon, Carthage and Rome furnish capital examples of the extent to which single cities were instrumental in founding the great states of antiquity. The hegemony of Athens and Greece was only defeated by the out-lying tribes after a desperate struggle; that of Jerusalem in the Jewish polity was indefinable in its limits, but in the main directive of Jewish affairs. The free cities of Germany, on the other hand, present a series of examples of these self acting polities, persisting for ages side by side with out-lying tribal polities, and, surviving all transformations of the latter, until all are finally consolidated into larger imperial unity.

In a similar manner, the reader who will trouble himself to investigate the history of the elder European cities will find them to have been from the beginning independent and self-acting polities, responsible to no tribal organization. Not only Venice but nearly all the cities of Italy have at different dates acquired out-lying tracts and founded states more or less powerful. In a word, cities were not only the first great civilization centres of the world, but its first great political centres, and the last to yield to the overwhelming wave of feudalism. The very termination *burg*, as Hamburg, Nuremburg, Freiburg, Edinburgh, etc., indicates their early relation to out-lying tracts to have been that of fortress-polities. Inveigh not, then, O statesman, against cities; for from the remotest ages they have been the great nerve-centres of the civilizing energy. They have fulfilled the function of ganglia of freedom and progress. It is thus seen how and why Plato could not divest himself of the idea of a city as the true ganglion of a state and of the ideal state. He apprehended clearly, with that subtle instinct of his, that intuitive perception of relations, that the city is ideally as well as really, and must be, a civilizing and educating centre. It was no narrow Athenian patriotism, but a deep insight into the necessary conditions of progress, that led him to give emphasis to this principle in the *Republica*, and critics have no doubt erred in assuming the former as a motive.

The reader has gathered from the facts thus far examined that the village-community, or the family principle in practical operation, would at favorable centres develop into municipal organization, while in general it would result in the looser system of tribal organization, the parent community exercising a kind of hegemony over its descendants. Among tribal organizations dissensions between factions would act rapidly in the direction of feudalism, while in cities the republican form of government would tend to the perpetuation of codes of procedure directly descended from the community code. The *patria* would develop into courts of justice on the one hand, and into aldermanic bodies on the other. That this was the case there are many facts to show; for what is an alderman but an older-man—that is to say, a city father? The adjective patrician is directly expressive of the dignity of the *patria*. The German *adel* (noble) is derivative from *alt* (old). So is the Saxon *athel*, as a prefix to royal appellatives.

The facts seem to indicate that the function of the *patria* was originally judicial, legislative and executive—that, in a word, they constituted a general court. Says the learned Starkie: "Notwithstanding the difference of opinion which has prevailed among legal antiquaries as to the origin of the English jury, there seems to be abundant reason for supposing that it is derived from the *patria*, or body of suitors, who decided causes in the county courts of our Saxon ancestors. That the trial *per juratum patriæ*, mentioned by Glanville, was derived from the trial *per patriam*, as used before and after the Norman Conquest, is rendered probable, not only by the description of the trial *per patriam* yet retained, but by the powers, qualifications and duties incident to the *jurata patriæ* of Henry II. and Henry III. This," continues Mr. Starkie, in his learned note in the first volume of his treatise on the Laws of Evidence, "explains many things inexplicable upon other hypotheses. The *jurata patriæ*, like the *patria*, decided on their own knowledge, and were for this purpose selected from the vicinage, those who had no knowledge of the facts being excluded in favor of those who had, and although the concurrence of twelve men was essential to a verdict, yet as eleven might have been of a contrary opinion, a majority in effect decided. In cases of disputed deeds the witnesses were included among the jury, and their duty was, as declared in the records, *dicere veritatem*."

This *jurata patriæ*, according to Starkie, differed from its original, the *patria*, or general assembly, both in respect of number and of the obligation of an oath; but these were transitions that originally came about in the most ancient courts of England, the county. It is evident from Glanville, that in the reign of Henry II. the trial *per jurata patriæ* was already an established custom; and from the "Monumenta Donica," liber 1, page 72, it appears that the appeal from the *patria* to a select number was a practice of great antiquity. An important relic of this practice occurs in the celebrated trial before Odo, bishop of Baieux, in the days of William the Conqueror, in which the verdict of the *patria* was required to be confirmed by the oaths of twelve men selected for the purpose. There are other vestiges of this practice, twelve or some of its multiples being a common number. Formerly both witnesses and jurors were included in the number, and the trial was then said to be *per patriam et per testes*, but later the two classes were separated.

Since Blackstone wrote, legal students have generally been content with his dictum deriving the modern jury from the law of Ethelred, providing for twelve men, *ætate superiores*, with a foreman, who swear to condemn no innocent and to absolve no guilty. It is clear, however, that the learned lecturer on the common law was in error on this point, and that this body was in the nature of a *jurata delatoria*, or jury of accusation, whose verdict went no further than to consign the accused to the *triplex ordalium*. Again, others have asserted that the modern jury originated with Henry II.; but from Glanville it appears that it must have been of more ancient origin, for he speaks of it as an existing institution in cases of purprestures, nuisances, and trespasses not amounting to disseizins. These were tried, says Glanville, *per juratum patriæ sive vicineti coram justiciariis.*

In the village communities of Hindustan a form of trial essentially resembling the trial *per patriam* is yet extant, and happily serves to answer the important question discussed in the antiquarian notes of Blackstone and Starkie. The trial by jury, as it exists in England and among the Germanic races generally, is directly descended from the trial *per patriam*, or by the general assembly of heads of families, and was first instituted as a court of appeal in important causes. This is solid ground.

To what extent this primeval institution furnishes the explanation of important historical problems has been cursorily illustrated. It now remains to give a rapid *résumé* of the facts as they bear upon questions of a practical type.

It is not an unexampled custom even now, though it may represent a transitional stage, for the arable land to be tilled jointly for the common profit; but is usual to find it more or less permanently apportioned out in plots among the households, while the ground left in forest and waste remains in a state of commonty among the villagers. Nor is the principle limited to the Aryan races and to ancient history. The English yeomen colonizing this country in the seventeenth century, and the Tatar tribes of East Russia at the present day, present examples of the same political unit. LeRoy, in his splendid treatise, gives a description of the social economy of the Baskir village communities, on the eastern slopes of the Ural mountaries, which, as belonging to a Tatar race of pastoral nomades, presents an interesting study of settled life in its first stages. During half the year these Baskirs follow their ancient pastoral habits on the mountains, not wandering at large, but keeping to the summer pasture allotted to their respective villages. The other half is spent in the home village, where the several households have attained to absolute property in their houses and adjacent gardens, while the arable lands and the hay-fields are in the intermediate state, parcelled out among families, it is true, but with a recognition of commonty that permits the village council to grant plots from the village reserve to new families, and to throw back into the reserve plots upon which families have not raised crops for several years. The village council constitutes a patristic court to which all disputes are referred.

The common lands in New England originated in a similar organization, in which, by grant of the General Court, a tract of land was vested in a company of persons, who then proceeded to effect a division and to designate house lots and tracts of meadow to individual proprietors, while the woodland and out-lying pasture remained the common property of the company. But the habits of individuality incident to modern life soon proved fatal to this antique constitution, and in less than half a century the privilege of commonage had to be limited by law to houses already in being, and to those to be afterwards erected with the consent of the town. Thus the commoners became a kind of landed aristocracy that gradually absorbed the common lands—a process analogous to that of feudalization in Europe, and resulting in a similar system of land-tenure, which, as Sir Henry Maine acutely observes, typically illustrates the history of village-communities in ancient Europe and in modern India, and the causes that led to their transformation.

Happily, again, Hylten-Cavalle, the Swedish ethnologist,* has entered into a minute and careful investigation of the ancient land-tenure of the Scandinavians, by which it appears that, while the Gothic tribes remained nomadic clans, the land occupied by each clan remained as common and undivided clan-land. On the other hand, when permanent agriculture was added to cattle-breeding, that part of the tract which had been tilled in common as odal-land was separated into lots and became the heritage ot the several households; but what was not odal remained as common pasture and woodland. The Scandinavian by, or township, is a relic of the ancient Teutonic community. The village commoners were originally one family, which gradually evolved an independent group or tribe, whose whole enclosed tract was the tribe-land, first enjoyed in common, but finally apportioned among the households in lots that became heritable. But long after this had taken place the out-mark of the township was held in common as pasture and woodland. Thus the primitive bys of Sweden took the form, which some of them have kept to this day, of a partly maintained and a partly broken commonty, the undivided outmark remaining in its primitive condition, while the sub-divided in-fields were heritable in families. The word *by*, as a terminating syllable in the names of towns, springs from this source. The same word, as used to represent the resting-places in the game of goal, confesses a similar origin.

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* *Försök i Svensk Ethnologi.*

How these relics of ancient Scandinavian land-tenure puzzled that thorough lawyer and antiquary, Sir Walter Scott, is related in his journal of a journey in Shetland. "I cannot," says Sir Walter, "get a distinct idea of the nature of the land rights. The udal proprietors have ceased to exist, yet proper feudal tenures seem ill understood. Districts of ground are in many instances understood to belong to townships or communities, possessing what may be arable in plots, and what is moor as a commonty *pro indiviso*. But then individuals of such a township often take it upon them to grant fens of particular parts of the property thus possessed *pro indiviso*. The town of Lerwick is built upon a part of the commonty of Sound, the proprietors of the houses having fen-rights from different heritors of that township, but why from one rather than another seems altogether uncertain."

The word *mark* (whence, by the way, the feudal title of marquis, and mark as the designation of a money value) involves the fundamental idea of the whole Teutonic land-system. The Teutonic town was, as Sir Henry Maine succinctly observes, an organic, self-acting group of families exercising a common proprietorship over a given tract known as its mark, cultivating the domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce. The mark was divided into three parts —the village mark, the arable or cultivated mark, and the common mark or out-lying waste. The community inhabited the village, cultivated the arable mark in lots appropriated to the several families, and held the out-mark in common. The organization of the ancient mark has long occupied the minds of German legists and historians; but it is only through the recent investigations of G. L. von Maurer that its important bearing on the facts of modern land-tenure in Germany has been established. The Allmand or Allmende of the Teutonic township is still used for pasture and tillage by the householders, under regulations that have suffered little alteration for a thousand years, and the vestiges of common property are still abundant in some parts of the country. Mr. Mozier's paper in the volume on "Systems of Land Tenure," recently issued under the sanction of the Cobden Club, gives the only summary of von Maurer's conclusions that is accessible to English readers.

It is not creditable to the legal masters of England that it should have been left to a German, Professor Nasse, of Bonn, to collect the evidences of mark land, held as once universal in that country. It is true that English historians like Colgrove, Kemble, and Freeman have always kept this fact in view. But the tendency of legal literature has been to assume that this ancient form of property was extinct. Sir Henry Maine has been the first to confess this palpable blunder on the part of legal authors, who, as a rule, have treated this antique type of landhold as incidental, while in fact it is a relic of the village community system prevalent before the Norman Conquest, and dating from the twilight of ancient history. The common fields, open fields, shuck lands, intermixed lands, etc., of English legal text-books, are so many relics of the arable mark of the Saxons. When in grass they are frequently styled lot meadows or lammas lands. It is very common for these fields to be divided by green turf-baulks into three long strips. Each family had its plot in each strip, and the whole was worked on the principle, still traditional in some parts of New England, of three-field husbandry—wheat one year, oats or beans the next, and fallow the third. Individual ownership in these lands only extended from April to October, the whole body of owners having a common pasture right to the fallow and to the baulks. This was known as the right of shack—a word related to the Latin *vagare*, and signifying to wander. It appears still in the word *shack*, a beggar, and in shag-bark. The right of shack also pertained to stubble land after the removal of the crops, and to meadow land after the hay-harvest, when individual property ceased and the fences were removed. This was the origin of the old festival day known as Lammas Day, which always occurred on the thirteenth of August, and was celebrated by a general holiday gathering of the community. A few centuries since, according to Marshall, who wrote about the beginning of this century, nearly all the lands of England lay open and commonable. Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, and Wiltshire were the last to give way before feudal tenures. Indeed, the grassy baulks that anciently separated the three fields are still visible in large tracts in the vicinity of Oxford.

In France, again, the old village-community system persisted at points until within the present century, surviving the process of feudalization. In M. Le Play's volume, for example, will be found a description of the village of Les Jaults, the last of several communities that once occupied the Nivernais. Legal writers have regarded them as owing their origin to feudal lords. But in the present state of information they must be accepted as ancient village-settlements, which fell under the authority of feudal lords during the Middle Ages, but persisted after the destruction of the feudal system. In 1840, Les Jaults consisted of seven families, whose heads were kinsmen and bore a common name, land, buildings, and cattle being held in common, and families having separate compartments in a common house. The meals were taken in common, only the head of the community and his second enjoying the distinction of a separate table. The community was industrious and moral in its habits. But the spirit of individualism finally crept in, undermined the authority of the elders, eventuated in legal complications, and finally in ineradicable feuds between families. The society was broken up in 1846.

But, perhaps, the most striking examples of ancient communistic agriculture are still extant in the villages of Croatia, Servia, and Austrian Slavonia. The villages are fraternities of co-owners and kinsmen, holding land in common, cultivating in common, and dividing annually according to rules, giving fixed shares to particular persons, or according to the estimated wants of families. The land is not even theoretically devisable.

On the other hand, the Russian agricultural village parcels out the arable land among the households, but only for a term of years, generally three, after which it is re-apportioned *en masse*. This work falls to the lot of the council of elders —the *patria*, again—who also settle all disputes between households, and give decision in all causes at law. This organization has persisted through many political mutations. When the feudal system was initiated in Russia, and the villages became subjected to noble proprietors, the freemen became serfs, working *en corvée* for the benefit of the master. It is even asserted, and by no less authorities than Haxthausen and Tengoborski, that the serf system was introduced in order to preserve the old village system from segregation, as upon it depended the ancient order of the land.

This universal rule, therefore, as the acute reader has already concluded, prevailed in the process of feudalization; the mark was transformed into the manor, and generally the tribal land determined the limits of the shire. The germ of the aristocracy, that gradually worked this metamorphosis and substituted feudal for odal tenures, is, as has already been intimated, to be sought in the existence of certain families within the community, tracing their descent to the primitive ancestor, who was general in war, and governor in peace. Thus, in the very constitution of the community, and in the vested right of the court of elders to partition the land, was planted the germ of a hereditary nobility, and of the transformation of tenures. The Indian village-community, already extinguished in Bengal, but still prevalent in the interior, presents examples of the feudalizing process in every stage of progress. Indeed, wherever the Brahminical code of Manu, in which the two leading ideas are caste and religious ritual, has had its way, the native village law has become obsolete, and exists only as tradition; but, as indicated in Mr. George Campbell's able paper in the volume on "Systems of Land Tenure," it appears that the constitution of these villages corresponded with that of the ancient mark in Germany, Scandinavia, and England.

A general view of the subject has now been mapped out. But it would require tomes to follow the complex process of feudalization, step by step, from the primitive democratic village to the feudal manor with its land. Again, the field is a new one, and only shafts have been sunk where systematic mining should long since have been the order of the day. Perhaps, indeed, it would be premature to construct any definite theory of the great transformation, or series of transformations, by which Europe has proceeded from the condition of a myriad of political units, each independent of the other, to the condition of a congeries of nations.

At least, however, American thinkers owe it to themselves to master the details of a field of investigation so important; and, to that end, this imperfect summary of the relations of the subject to various social, political, legal and historical problems has been attempted.

ART. III.—1. *The Oath of the President of the United States, with other Oaths.*

2. *The Messages of President Grant to the Congress of the United States for five years past, with Notes, Grammatical, Critical and Ironical, on the same, by numerous Editors.* Washington.

3. *A Series of Essays on the Statesmanship of Gen. Ulysses Grant, President of the United States, as illustrated chiefly in his peculiar plan of Reconstructing Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, etc., by means of Carpet Bags and Bayonets.* New York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c.

4. *A Dissertation on the precise difference between Presents and Bribes in the case of the President of the United States.* By Hon. THOMAS MURPHY, LL.G., assisted by several other men of letters equally eminent and disinterested.

Now, as on many former occasions, we have a disagreeable task to perform. It is no pleasure to us to assail those in high places, even when they occupy them only by accident, and give daily proof of their utter unfitness for them. Still less disposed are we to divest them of their tinsel and whitewash, and exhibit them in their deformities as nature and art have made them, when they may be regarded for the time being, abroad if not at home, as, in a certain sense, a type of the national civilization and intelligence. But it would be a spurious patriotism and a burlesque on free thought and free speech to conceal grave faults in our public men for appearances' sake, in order to avoid the mortification of being ruled by such men.

It may be very well for the press to be blind and deaf in regard to the defects, infirmities, or imbecilities of those in power, in countries in which it is a penal offence to express an unfavorable opinion of them. But even in countries in which the press is thus shackled, where bondage is hoarse and may not speak aloud, no such performances on the part of their rulers as we have to complain of would be allowed to pass without being denounced, let the penalty be what it might. At all events, we are not of those who, feeling that they have a duty to perform, shrink from performing it lest it may get them into trouble—lest it may injure them in their present business or future prospects. Accordingly we proceed to give our impressions freely, but without intending to use any harsher language than the public good seems imperatively to demand. We think our sincerity in this will be sufficiently evident from the fact that, had our present Executive been content with the honors and profits he has enjoyed, from having been elected twice to the chief magistracy of this great nation, we would cheerfully have allowed him to retire in peace without any such unpleasant retrospect as we have now to present.

But none need doubt any longer that General Grant will do all in his power to secure his election for a third term, and this is but saying in other words that he will be President or Dictator for life if he can. The only question on this point is, Will he succeed in his ambitious plans? It is certain that he would not if the American people would only evince their characteristic sagacity and patriotism. But unfortunately there is not the least certainty of this. Political demoralization is too widely prevalent—a demoralization which, as may be remembered but too well, General Grant himself has contributed more than any other man by example, if not by precept, to render universal. It is generally admitted by thinking men whose minds are not warped by the corrupt influences of party politics, that those who give themselves any trouble about the welfare or honor of the nation in comparison with their own selfish interests form but a very small minority of our voting population, and that with this minority General Grant has no real sympathy.

But let us be understood. We do not oppose General Grant either on partisan or personal grounds. We owe him no grudge. We have no feeling of resentment to gratify against him. He has never refused us a favor, for we have never asked one from him directly or indirectly, either in our own behalf or that of any one else. Moreover, we were in favor of his election when we did not know him as well as we do now—that is, when we regarded him as a very different man from what he has since proved himself to be. While we labored under this delusion we were not only in favor of his election, but we did all in our power to contribute to it. The reason was this: we fully sympathised with the large proportion of the public who were grateful to General Grant for having suppressed the rebellion, although at no time did we believe that he was the best of our generals. We believed that there were several as good as he, more than one his superiors. We were satisfied that he succeeded finally—not because he was in any sense an abler general than some of his predecessors, but because he had a much better disciplined and more effective army, whereas the rebel army had grown weak and demoralized. In all this he was fortunate.

But this was no reason why he should not be rewarded and honored by the nation. He was rewarded and honored accordingly, and in the most generous manner. But this is not sufficient for him. He is made President of the United States. In three months he proves to the world, not only how little he knows of statesmanship, but how very vague are his ideas of principle or honor, or even of the dignity and self-respect of a gentleman. He proves, in a word, that money, or its equivalent in some form—cash or merchandise, real or personal estate, hardware or software—is the sort of honor that is most precious to him. The politicians soon avail themselves of his infirmity. All who are ambitious to obtain office, whether their object be money or glory, proceed to make presents to the President of the United States, and those who give most money or most value get the fattest offices, or those supposed to confer most glory. Any one might be a great public functionary on this plan if he had only a sufficient amount of wealth and was proportionately liberal in making presents. It matters not what the present-maker's business is—he may be a grocer, an expressman, a manufacturer of quack medicines, or a dry goods merchant, it is all the same; he can be, in fact, anything he wishes, from a tax collector up to a cabinet minister or minister plenipotentiary, if he will only evince his appreciation suitably in advance, and be fortunate enough to have no law against him, and no enemy in the United States Senate.

We are aware our readers may tell us that there is nothing new in all this; it is indeed open to the objection of being stale, for the facts have long been notorious. But the public has a bad memory, especially that part of it whose interest it is to remember only what is favorable. Another reason why we beg leave to recall such hackneyed things is, that there are some who think that General Grant is by no means entirely cured yet of the infirmity in question. Others go so far as to maintain that offices can be purchased from the President of the United States to-day in as strict accordance with the laws of commerce as any other commodities can be purchased in our great marts, the chief difference consisting in the fact that owing to the great fuss made by certain newspapers some four or five years ago about the new presidential traffic, the President has been much more prudent since in conducting this particular branch of his operations, so that it is now quite difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what any particular office costs at the White House. It seems that all a denizen of the outside world may hope to learn at the present day is that the tariff of prices is much higher than it used to be some years ago. The rise in the market must not, however, be attributed to the late panic, nor is it accounted for wholly on the common principle of supply and demand. The demand has indeed not diminished, but rather the contrary. There are at least as many candidates and bidders as ever. But this has very little if anything to do with the advance in price, which, according to those best informed on the subject, is owing chiefly, perhaps wholly, to the fact that the President being now wealthy, he can afford to reject small bids, sure that he has only to wait a little while to get his full price.

Another hackneyed subject is the nepotism of President Grant. It has been estimated that he has placed more of his relatives in office, or furnished them provender at the public crib, in one way or another, than all his predecessors put together, and we fear that estimate is not at all an exaggerated one. It were less matter if this large horde of relatives were, in general, persons qualified for the positions in which they have been placed, although even then there would be some indelicacy, not to use a harsher term, in giving places to so large a multitude to the exclusion of as many others who were qualified and who had perhaps deserved more from their country than they. But when the President of the United States bestows offices on nonentities merely because they are his relatives, we think he is guilty of conduct but little less reprehensible and less dishonorable than that of accepting presents with the tacit or express understanding that offices will be given in exchange for them.

But let us assume for a moment that General Grant has not been guilty of either bribery or nepotism, but that his accusers, actuated by malice prepense, have grossly libelled him. At worst, let us suppose that he no longer suffers himself to be bribed; that he no longer accepts valuable presents on any conditions whatever; that he no longer shows any favor to his numerous tribe of relatives; that is, let us suppose, in a word, that he is a new man in these respects; that the Hon. Tom Murphy, the Hon. John Hoey, and other worthy friends and associates of his, have reformed him—should he be distinguished above Washington on this account? should he be made President the third time, and consequently for life, as a reward for abstaining from bribery and nepotism? If not, what has he done as President, or what can he be expected to do, to entitle him to that distinction?

Some of the newspapers have called General Grant's hankering for a third term, or a life term, Cæsarism. This is done in general much more by way of flattery or ridicule than by way of reproach or censure. At all events, we know no general of modern times more innocent of the charge of being like Cæsar than General Grant. If we are wrong in this, will somebody be good enough to inform us in what does the similarity between Grant and Cæsar consist, beyond the bare fact that both have commanded armies and gained victories? But may not the same be said of Alaric and Attila? It may seem unkind to say that Grant is much more like the king of the Visigoths or the king of the Huns than he is like the illustrious founder of the Roman empire, but such is the fact.

We would not, however, designate the conduct of General Grant as either Alaricism or Attilaism. Fortunately, neither would be possible at the present day. But as Alaric was rather a vulgar, coarse person, without much knowledge of any other art or science than that of human butchery, so, we fear it must be admitted, is Grant. Attila, it seems, bestowed no favors but kicks and curses on any but those who purchased his good will "by meal or by malt," or could prove that they were of his own "flesh and blood." In the latter case, we are told, the great Hunnic butcher was quite generous, especially when he had indulged in large potations of a certain liquor which some historians regard as lager bier, while others, who are probably nearer the truth, insist that it was rye whiskey. Moreover, Attila had a mode of "reconstruction" of which he claimed to be the original discoverer or inventor, and which consisted chiefly in fomenting strife between the different races he had conquered by means of emissaries who robbed and plundered whenever they could, allowing their worthy master a certain percentage of their booty. The mental culture of Attila, like that of Alaric, was confessedly very limited. It is still a disputed point among the learned whether either of those chieftains could write his name, but all historians agree in giving each credit for more or less ready wit, and, above all, the faculty of making stirring, effective speeches to friends and foes.

Far be it from us to say, however, that, upon the whole, Grant is like either Alaric or Attila. We perpetrate no such libel. We merely repeat here, in substance, what we said above on this point, namely, that if Grant is unlike Alaric or Attila, he is a thousand times more unlike Cæsar. If the truth must be told, the freedman who brushed Cæsar's clothes was more like his master than Grant is like Cæsar.

Just let us compare the twain as warriors, and whatever similarity we can discover between them in this character it will be all. That Grant fought well, and did well generally, as a soldier, we have never denied. But success in putting down a rebellion after the rebels have become pretty nearly exhausted, in every sense of the term, is no proof of great generalship. History holds no one to be a great general who has distinguished himself only in a civil war. About one-third part of a nation rebels against the other two-thirds; one-fourth against three-fourths would be nearer the truth; but the former estimate will answer our purpose as well. The two-thirds have both the prestige and the material advantages of an organized, established government. No foreign army interferes in the struggle. Since the two-thirds were quite as brave, as patriotic, and as resolute as the one-third, the war could not have ended otherwise than as it did. Under another general the armies of the United States might not have crushed the rebellion for another year, although it may well be doubted whether there were not other generals in the Union army then who would have subdued the rebels at least as quickly as General Grant did, had they had the chief command. But, be this as it may, General Grant has never encountered a foreign army or an alien nationality.

Cæsar, upon the other hand, invaded foreign countries and subdued the bravest races and nations, and fought and defeated the greatest captains of the age. He was not alone the conqueror of the Gauls, whom no one else had conquered or could conquer; he distinguished himself in the Mithridatic war, the Alexandrine war, and the Hispanian war. The Helvetians, the Belgians, the Nervians and the Britons, the Gauls and the Germans, were all alike to him. He could as easily restore the beautiful Cleopatra to her throne, as he could punish the fierce and turbulent Ariovistus for imprisoning the Roman ambassadors.

The great captain who disputed the empire of the world with Cæsar was Pompey, but the dispute was most triumphantly decided in favor of the former at Pharsalia, one of the greatest battles ever fought. His victory over Pompey was still more complete than that at Thapsus, in Africa, in which he defeated Scipio and Juba.

In war, as well as in peace, Cæsar evinced, without affectation, his innate greatness of soul. Even in his struggle with Pompey for life or death, when some of his lieutenants deserted him to join the enemy, he sent them their horses, arms and equipage. Suetonius informs us, moreover, that when he captured cities which had made all the resistance in their power, he left them at liberty to take which side they pleased, imposing no other garrison upon them than the remembrance of his generosity and clemency. Finally, when the decisive day came the first general order of Cæsar on the plains of Pharsalia was, that without the utmost necessity no soldier of his should lay a hand upon the citizens of Rome.

So much for Cæsarism in war. It may be very well to call our Southern rebels the Helvetians, the Nervians, the Belgians, the Sequani, etc.; and in turn to call "Stonewall" Jackson, Ariovistus, and General Robert Lee, Pompey; but the comparison would scarcely hold. Not but our brethren in rebellion were as brave as the fiercest and most impetuous of those Gallic and German tribes, but there are other considerations which exhibit the comparison between the two warriors as too much like that between the pigmy and the giant.

We have remarked, in passing, that General Grant has never passed through the the test ordeal of fighting and defeating foreign armies and foreign generals. But other American generals have. Washington fought and defeated, again and again, the best foreign troops in the world, commanded by their bravest and ablest generals. So did General Andrew Jackson. Yet neither Washington nor Jackson had any pretensions to Cæsarism.

But let us see how the presents went in the case of the captain who, we are told, is the prototype of General Grant.

All historians of Rome in those days agree, that, instead of growing rich in office among his fellow-citizens, Cæsar invariably became poor. It is estimated that, when he left Rome to take charge of the government of Spain, his debts amounted to a sum equal to more than seven millions of our money. Not only had he spent every penny of his salary in each office in giving contributions for improving the condition of the common people, but also by far the largest portion of his private patrimony, and thus it was that his debts attained such enormous magnitude. We see, then, that if Cæsar was ambitious his ambition was a very different sentiment from the vulgar, paltry greed for money and money's worth, which is the ruling passion of Grant, if he has not been grossly and habitually misrepresented by friends as well as foes.

Finally, if we compare Grant with his pretended prototype in regard to culture and intellectual ability, what figure will the former make? Did ever two men occupying similar positions present a more striking contrast? It is universally admitted by competent judges, that Cæsar has never been surpassed as an historian. His "Commentaries"* is a model of excellence to this day in the best schools of all nations, and as long as dignity and force of thought, purity and elegance of style, and unswerving, impartial truthfulness of narrative are appreciated by mankind, it will ever continue to be so. Unfortunately for the world, this inimitable work is the only one of Cæsar's that has survived the ravages of time; for we are informed by Suetonius that he wrote valuable treatises on grammar and eloquence, a tragedy entitled *Œdipus*, etc. But whatever may have been the character of these, whether Cæsar ever wrote them or not, it is a well-attested, undisputed fact that as an orator he had no superior among his contemporaries save Cicero. It is certain that a nobler oration was never delivered by Cicero, or any other orator of ancient or modern times, than that delivered by Cæsar before the senate against capital punishment, as reported by Sallust. There is not a sentence in this masterly appeal in favor of humanity but is replete with the sagacity of the statesman and the wisdom of the philosopher. And this is the profound intellect to whom one is compared who, if his life were the penalty of failure, could not address a half dozen sentences to Congress, with pen or tongue, in decent, grammatical language, without employing some one to put them together for him, so that he may not be jeered at for his ignorance and incapacity, even by boys and girls in their teens. Yet, whatever General Grant does just now is to be regarded as Cæsarism!

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* *De Bello Gallico.*

But let us suppose that by "Cæsarism" is merely meant that General Grant has a sort of family likeness to great warriors in general who aspired to direct legislatures and rule nations, as well as to lead armies. It is a remarkable fact that there has not been one of the great captains of ancient or modern times, excepting Alaric and Attila who did not carry about with him some favorite book. Thus, for example, the favorite of Alexander the Great was Homer. Finding a beautiful cabinet among the spoils of Darius, the conqueror gave orders to have it preserved for him as a place in which to keep his Homer.* The favorite of Scipio Africanus was Xenophon, which he read daily and nightly while besieging Carthage. The favorite of Marcus Brutus was Polybius. While Hannibal was crossing the Alps he read eight books of the Iliad. His speech before the senate of Campania was modeled on that of Achilles to Nestor when the ambassadors were sent by Agamemnon to implore the hero to return to the Grecian camp. The same heroic spirit is exhibited in his memorable "colloquium" with Scipio Africanus near Crotona, and again in his famous address to his army before the battle of the Ticin. Charles V. always carried about with him Philip de Comines. The great Condé was as fond of Homer as Alexander, and so was Napoleon I., who, however, sometimes exchanged him for Ossian. Frederick the Great's favorite author was Sophocles. Charles XII. of Sweden scarcely ever went to battle without a copy of Cæsar's Commentaries in his pocket. Marshal Blucher had the same taste and habit. Homer, Xenophon and Cæsar were alternately the favorites of Wellington, but he ever returned to the great Roman, whom he always took pride in declaring his model in making his despatches as terse and as free from egotism as possible. It is almost needless for us to say that the favorite work of General Grant is the Philadelphia Ledger. There are some other similar works which he sometimes studies with great interest. It is well known that he has a peculiar fondness for bellows, and so, with the exception, he says, that the Ledger is rather short-winded and wheezy, it is perfect in its kind.

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* Vide Plutarch in *Vita*.

There has not been one of the great captains mentioned, always excepting Alaric and Attila, who did not take more or less pride in encouraging literature, science or the arts. Washington was certainly the friend of literary and scientific men; there was no encouragement he could give either which was not generously and gracefully given. Louis XIV. was not prouder of Corneille or Racine than Washington was of Benjamin Franklin. Jackson was gruff in his manner and eccentric in his habits; at the same time he was thoughtful and shrewd enough to appreciate knowledge as real power, and, so far as he could, to encourage its votaries. As for the other great captains, including Alexander, they befriended literary and scientific men, and valued their society just in proportion as they were great. This was eminently true of Cæsar, who took men like Sallust with him to be his companions in all his foreign campaigns. Suetonius assures us that even his favorite generals at the battle of Pharsalia were not more welcome at his villa, after his return in triumph to Rome, than scholars and authors, no matter whence the latter came.

But perhaps, when the performances of General Grant are called "Cæsarism," the Cæsar to whom it is meant to compare him, is Augustus, the Roman Pericles, the friend of Virgil and Horace, and whose favorite prime minister was

Mæcenas. If this be the Cæsar whom we are to regard as Grant's prototype, then it is a different matter, and we may expect the future historian to grow big with inspiration as with bated breath he discusses the Grantian era in American literature! For, far be it from us to deny that General Grant is the patron of men of letters—such "letters," for example, as those written to the newspapers in his praise—letters sometimes called "interviews," in which he gets credit for thoughts and ideas that could never have found their way, by any natural process, into a head like his.

General Grant may also claim distinction as a patron of those fine classics known as the Dime Novels. True, neither these nor the interviewing letters are exactly after the manner of Cæsar. But what of that? Their style is certainly not so much unlike Cæsar's style, as Ulysses Grant is unlike Julius Cæsar in every intellectual characteristic. Still, by all means, let us have a Grantian era. But it certainly cannot be called the Age of Gold, or even the Age of Brass, for brass, too, is an honest, sober metal. Upon the whole, we think that what is most nearly a true synonym of the Grantian Age is not, as some say, the Age of Rye Whiskey, but the Age of *Pelf*. If it must have the affix *ism* to it in some way, in the name of common sense let the thing not be Cæsarism in future, but Alaricism, or Attilaism. This, it is true, is open to the objection that it must seem queer to the world that we, who claim to occupy the foremost rank in intelligence and enlightenment as a nation, should retain, at the head of our government, term after term, one whose prototype we must seek, certainly, not among the cultivated Romans or Greeks, but among the barbarous and illiterate Visigoths, Vandals, or Huns.

ART. IV.—1. *Dissent in its relation to the Church of England. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year* 1871, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury. By the Rev. MR. CURTEIS. London, 1874.

IT will probably be necessary to explain to some of our readers the terms employed here to denote two powerful and opposing parties. In order to do this it may be well for us to examine the history of both the Establishment and Nonconformity, so that our view may not be contracted, partial, or prejudiced; for history clothes simple definitions with a life and beauty, or a realness that we could not otherwise discern. It also enables us to see the good and ill in opposing parties, and thus saves us from awarding undue praise or unmitigated censure. The history of England for centuries, in order to be philosophically studied, must be read in the light of that wondrous and but rarely interrupted struggle between Conformity and Non-conformity; between Episcopacy and Puritanism. By the phrase "non-conformity" is designated that numerous party or those numerous sects that differ from the church established by law in England, either in doctrine or discipline, or both. It will at once be seen that such a party must of necessity be influential in the state, and consequently a powerful opponent of the national church.

There has constantly been in England a struggle between the spiritual and civil power. This statement is amply confirmed by the history of England at various periods; and these earlier struggles seem to us to have been the germ of nonconformity as well as of the Reformed Church. In the reign of Henry VIII. the power and grandeur of Rome were at their highest in England; but in spite of that unequalled power and splendor there were undermining forces at work—to a large extent unheeded; but nevertheless mighty in their operation. Like many of the forces of nature, calm, but majestic and powerful; there were moral, intellectual and social agencies at work that culminated in the emancipation of England from the See of Rome and placed her on the highway of progress and freedom. It was and is said that Henry VIII.'s vices were the cause of the English Reformation. We certainly deny it. What becomes of the earlier marks of revolt against the Papal rule? The struggle in the reign of Henry II., between himself and Thomas à Becket, and carried on by many succeeding sovereigns and the people, shows that there was a leaven at work that was highly dangerous to the Roman power. Catholic historians frequently admit that the Reformation did not begin absolutely in Henry VIII.'s time, but that there had been many agencies at work that made the people ripe for revolt. Wickliffe and his coadjutors had left their mark on their own and succeeding ages. Henry, powerful as he was, dared not act as he did unless the people were prepared for such a radical change. Henry, undoubtedly, was the agent by which the ready forces were directed; but he was nothing more; for it was a mere question of time, and not of willingness on the part of the people.

Certainly, no advocate of the Reformation would at all extenuate the motive of Henry in dissolving the bond between England and the papacy. His conduct in relation to Catherine of Arragon was criminal and highly censurable. The fact is, Henry was not in the sense of doctrine a Protestant at all; for whilst he sent Roman Catholics to the stake for denying his supremacy, he also sent Protestants for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. However, we may safely call this period the beginning of the English Reformed Church.

The convocation, under the pressure of the court, declared that Henry was the "only and supreme Lord, and, as far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head of the Church of England." Thus the bond was snapped asunder that bound England to Rome. Thomas Cromwell, on the ground that the monasteries were notoriously places where guilty and abominable practices were perpetrated, was the chief agent of their destruction. Thus the strongholds of Catholic domination were overthrown and the Church of England separated more widely from Rome. Cranmer and Latimer and others were the principal agents in bringing the separated church into discipline and order. Under Edward VI. and the Protector, Somerset, the Church of England reached its climax of power and splendor. Then came the change under Mary, when many eminent divines were sent to the stake and the Reformed Church received a terrible blow. But under Elizabeth we may say that the Reformed Church was firmly established in the affections and esteem of the people. Since that time Protestantism has been in the ascendant. It has had its trials; but so firmly is it rooted that these difficulties appear but to have made it vigorous and fruitful.

There were, however, within the English Church elements of disagreement that at length produced non-conformity. It was but probable and natural that, as the English Reformation was, to a large extent, but a compromise, there should be a party within the church that would desire to sweep away every vestige of compromise, and go back to New Testament simplicity of ritual and doctrine. This party was named the Puritan. The very same principles that produced the Reformation seem to us to have produced non-conformity. The right of private judgment on matters of doctrine and ritual, and its necessary consequent, that men should be allowed to express that doctrine by practice and precept, were the causes of non-conformity. Whatever may be the faults of some of the Puritans, no one can fairly deny to them the praise of hardihood of character, love of freedom, and many other of those qualities that lead to a nation's weal and progress. The charge has been brought against them that they were contracted in their views respecting doctrine; that they had no taste for the beautiful in architecture and ritual; that their doctrine was bare and frequently repulsive; and that they often grasped at the shadow and lost the substance. Mr. Curteis joins in the same charge. He says: "For 300 years this highly unimaginative form of religious character has continued in England. * * * Art, with her united treasures of imaginative representation, was suddenly cast aside and held of little account. Smitten as if by a stroke of palsy, the life that seemed ever at work in developing her beautiful creations abruptly stood still." Mr. Curteis says a great deal more in the same style. He also speaks of the Puritans as if they were destitute of intellectual culture and taste. True, there have been fanatics, who have, in order to avoid one extreme, gone into another, and there were such among the Puritans; but to say they were devoid of taste is both unjust and outside the pale of forbearance. Chaucer, Spenser, Bunyan, the glorious Milton, and the immortal Shakespeare, besides De Foe, Cartwright, Howe, Owen, Selden, Lightfoot, Baxter, Doddridge, Robert Hall, and numerous others, both of an earlier and later date, were Puritanic, either in taste or connection. Were these devoid of culture and taste? Are the modern non-conformists devoid of taste in architecture, or music, or homilectics? No one can truly say yes, and we are sorry that this threadbare charge should be repeated so often.

The puritanic element, however, remained in the English Church until the passing of the cruel and unjust act of Uniformity in 1662, which resulted in two thousand of the Puritan clergy leaving the Church of England, with all its advantages, rather than take the test. No one, whatever may be his opinion of their act, can refuse to see in these men sturdiness of character that led to suffering, ignominy, and in some cases, indirectly, death. These were the first non-conformists. Mr. Curteis himself says: "Far be it from us to withhold the tribute of our praise from men of your communion, who have in bygone times withstood for conscience sake the tyranny and violence of evil rulers, and have helped to give our country the freedom she enjoys. An over-submissiveness is certainly a great evil. And on this *political* field the blood of many an Independent and Puritan was not shed in vain. Every conformist as well as non-conformist *ought* to be proud of such noble, self-denying men." We quite agree with Mr. Curteis. The wonder is, not that there were cases of disloyalty, but that those cases were so few; not that there were revolutions, but that those revolutions were so few, and conducted with such moderation, with the exception of the execution of the unfortunate but treacherous Charles. If the blood of the martyrs be "the seed of the Church," the sufferings, heroism and self-denial of the Puritans were the seed of England's freedom—political and religious. The "Act of Uniformity" had driven the Puritan clergy from their benefices in direct violation of royal promise, and had reduced them to extreme poverty and distress. The "Five Mile Act" kept them from their own homes and friends, and from nearly all places of public resort. Under the "Conventicle Act" their goods had been seized, and they placed in gaol with the worst of characters. Such acts bravely and patiently endured laid the foundation of England's civil and religious liberty. With all their faults, and they had many, the earlier non-conformists demand the homage of all true and intelligent men.

The question arises, What is the present relationship between the non-conformists and the Established Church? We may certainly reply that, as to the state of feeling between them, there is very "little love lost." There are criminations and recriminations, charges and counter charges; in fact, "war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." Of course we would not be understood to make an unqualified statement, for there are many honorable examples of courtesy and kindness, with firmness of principle, and deep-rooted conviction. The lecturer, whom we have quoted before, charges the non-conformists with harsh and uncharitable sayings respecting the Established Church, apparently forgetting that powerful counter-charges may be brought, and in greater abundance. For instance, the late Rev. Thos. Binney, a sturdy thinker, and uncompromising non-conformist, is reported to have said: "That it" (the Establishment) "destroys more souls than it saves." Another non-conformist says: "The Establishment is a soul-destroying upas, deeply rooted in our soil. It desecrates religion; in its eyes immorality and licentiousness are trifles; it is at once a blunder, a failure, and a curse." Mr. Dale denies the Church of England to be a true church at all. With some of these remarks we can have but little sympathy, and yet the non-conformists have notoriously greater cause of complaint. For in the literature of the Establishment, in the charges of the bishops and archdeacons, in speeches, and in a variety of ways, the non-conformists have had their share, and more, of censure and bitter language. The millenium of peace is evidently not very near. One thing is certain, the non-conformists will not rest until they have succeeded in disestablishing the Church of England. This is the avowed object of the majority.

If we apply the test of numbers as a reason why disestabment should take place, certainly the non-conformists, if their statistics be true—and we see no reason to doubt them—have good reason to enforce their claim. It will have been noticed by those who read the debates on the "Irish Church Bill," that one chief argument adduced and enforced for separation of church and state was the great minority of the Protestants. The injustice and inexpediency of an Established Church being the church of the minority was vehemently urged. The non-conformists urged the same plea—though of course admitting that their majority is not enormous. Taking their stand-point, their claim is just, and must ultimately be regarded. Of course, the statistics published by the "Non-conformist" are questioned, and they may need some modification, for figures are often made very elastic; but churchmen generally admit that the non-conformists are numerically equal to them, if not superior. The "Non-conformist" has recently published some statistics that contrast remarkably with the estimate we find given in 1861. In 1861 the Church of England had 14,077 places of worship; the non-conformists 20,390; Church of England, number of pews, 5,317,915; non conformists, 4,894,648; Church of England, attendance, 3,773,474; non-conformists, 3,487,558.

The recent statistics of the non-conformists, obtained by careful and diligent effort, show that in thirty-two of the largest towns of England, excluding London, the aggregate population of which is 4,345,216, the number of sittings provided by the Established Church is 650,470; by non-conformist churches, 1,078,451; that whereas, in 1851, the former provided 42 per cent. of the sittings, to the latter 58; in 1872 the former provided only 37.6 per cent., and the latter 62.4. This proves that in large towns non-conformity has made rapid strides.

The non-conformists therefore demand that the Church of England be disestablished on the ground of justice. No churchmen can meet them on this ground; they must therefore take some other stand-point. Of course we admit that the Episcopalians have arguments to offer outside this one of number, and to these they now have to direct their attention and effort.

The non-conformists complain that they are placed at a social disadvantage by the existence of an Establishment; that from the very fact of the union of church and state, the former has an undue prestige. This complaint is not without reason. Naturally the Episcopal Church will be the church of the fashionable, cultured and wealthy. Its mode of government and ritual, and also its antiquity, will attract. It is another thing, however, whether the state ought to add additional prestige by uniting the church to itself. The clergy of the Established Church have a position arising from their being officials of the state. This is seen from the fact that they perform and register the marriage ceremony, whilst the non-conformist minister has to submit to the presence and oversight of the registrar. Coleridge, in his Literary Remains, exclaims: "Oh, that our clergy did but know and see that their tithes and glebes belong to them as officers, functionaries of the nationality, as clerks, and not exclusively as theologians, and not at all as ministers of the gospel; but that they are likewise ministers of the Church of Christ, and that their claims and the powers of the church are no more alienated or affected by their being at the same time the established clergy than by the common coincidence of their being justices of the peace, or heir to an estate, or stockholders." Thus Coleridge recognizes the twofold character of the established clergy. The non-conformists desire to see the Episcopal clergy no longer state officials, having the trappings of temporal power and the position and dignity accruing to their state character. No reasonable dissenter would grudge the Episcopal Church that power and influence that arise from its character as a church; but that which the state gives is the "bone of contention." The social difference that in the past was so great is now comparatively little. Wealth, position and culture are the portion of dissenters as well as conformists. All parties have risen with the tide of general prosperity, the increase of knowledge and the march of social progress. Passing through the large towns of England, the discerning and well-read traveller cannot but notice the vast difference between the non-conformist architecture of his reading and modern progress. Splendid gothic buildings, with "spires pointing heavenward," and within ornamented with all that wealth and taste can supply, and filled with well-clad and apparently well-to-do people, afford a perfect contrast to non-conformity of half a century ago.

A brief glance at the figures contained in the reports of non-conformist church building societies will amply prove that there is no lack of money, and that their revenue is steadily increasing. The Wesleyan Methodist Church alone raises for church building purposes annually nearly £250,000. In the last government there were distinguished non-conformists. The Right Hon. John Bright and the late lamented Mr. Winterbotham found distinguished places within the favored circle, and there are numerous dissenters, able and useful, as well as honored members of the house of commons. In addition to this the educational institutions, for training both lay and clerical students, have rapidly increased, and have become much more efficient and successful. Besides, many non-conformists have greatly distinguished themselves in the chief universities, and are now—the Test Acts being removed—fellows of their respective colleges. The differences between conformists and non-conformists, in these respects, have of late been wonderfully lessened, and will probably continue to be less, until they are reduced to a minimum.

The one great barrier to perfect social equality is felt by the non-conformists to be the Establishment. It is very natural that this social difference should not publicly be made much of; for it is both a delicate and difficult subject to handle, and is frequently oftener felt than expressed. Nevertheless it rankles in the breast, and is not the less keenly felt because not often expressed. The inner circle, the favored place, is where one can truly analyze feelings not often divulged in the outer circle, where they might be misunderstood or misrepresented. The Episcopalians frequently charge their opponents with envy, and probably not without reason; for, whilst human nature remains what it is, there will be some elements of this kind; but nevertheless the dissenters demand, as an act of social justice, that, in the eye of the law, they be equal with the conformists. In this country, where there is no Established Church, the people generally will sympathize with the claims of the other churches, and will scarcely understand why such a measure of justice is withheld. The mode of treatment adopted toward the dissenters has undoubtedly increased this feeling of hostility toward the Established Church, and has almost made it pass into an axiom that "a state church must of necessity be a persecuting church." We wish we could say the implication was groundless.

In large towns dissenters are able to take care of and protect themselves, but in rural districts the case is vastly different, as the "parson and squire" stand very frequently in the position of the lord *spiritual* and the lord *temporal*, and woe to the unlucky wight who happens to fall under their ban! The hostility—determined and continued—of the non-conformists generally, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, to the twenty-fifth clause of the Educational Act arises, to a large extent, from the dread of the Church influence in rural districts. Take the Wesleyan Methodist polity as an example. When this question was discussed by a representative and influential committee of Wesleyan Methodists, the ground of their opposition to the Educational Act, especially in its denominational features, was clearly and constantly stated to be the undue influence it would give the established clergy in the villages and hamlets of England, and the probability, judging from the past, that that influence would be used for wrong purposes. This was the burden of many of the speeches, and its constant repetition only proves the depth of feeling existing on this matter. It was regarded almost as a matter of "connexional" life and death in the rural districts, and the result was that, by an overwhelming majority, they resolved to discourage denominational extension, and to oppose aid being given from local rates for denominational schools. The

Episcopal clergy have to thank themselves for this state of feeling, for a little courtesy would have won golden opinions and influential support from the powerful body of Wesleyan Methodists.

Of course there is a "conscience clause" for the protection of non-conformists, but it is felt that in many cases it would be so much waste paper, as there were cases that no "conscience clause" could reach or remedy. To our knowledge, in some parishes persecution of a petty and an unceasing nature is being carried on, and these cases annoy and add fuel to the already intense fire, which will only be quenched by disestablishment. Of course there are many honorable and large-hearted Episcopalians who would scorn to be guilty of anything dastardly or mean, and to these our remarks cannot apply. Those who think that disestablishment will be the sovereign remedy for all the disadvantages which dissent labors under will most likely be grievously mistaken, but that it will remove some no candid person will deny.

The position held by the bishops, as peers of the realm, and the use they make of it to oppose measures on which the non-conformists have set their hearts, are "thorns in the flesh" of the bulk of the dissenters. For example, the bill that marriage with a deceased wife's sister be legal has passed the house of commons, but has been rejected by the house of lords, and almost unanimously by the episcopal bench. The right reverend prelates are undoubtedly conscientious in their opposition, and, as some of the non-conformists think, with reason, yet their sturdy opposition produces discontent and avowed hostility. The general opinion in England is that the bishops will not occupy a seat in the house of lords many years longer. Whatever may be the opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of the bishops being peers, one thing is certain, that some of them are not at all deficient in legislative skill and oratorical power. The bishop of Peterborough is an example of how the two-fold office of statesman and bishop may be efficiently and honorably sustained.

In a review of this nature it would be unjust to the non-conformists not to give special prominence to their conscientious objections to the Established Church, as wrong in principle, injurious in practice, and inexpedient in its results. From the lips of eminent non-conformists it is no rare thing to hear that the alliance between church and state is unholy as well as unjust. It either makes the church unduly subservient, or unduly arrogant. The Rev. Mr. Rogers, chairman of the Congregational Union of England, and a logical and forceful speaker, expressed his opinion that the tendency of the free churches was to strengthen individual, spiritual life, whilst the Establishment trammelled it. Uniformity often produced a dead level. It is right the churches should be free, unpatronized, and unimpeded by the state, for frequently there is but little affinity between one and the other. Take, for instance, the appointment of the bishops—the chief pastors of the church—how often the appointment has been made for political reasons, and not from the highest and truest motive of fitness for the office. Of late years, however, no prime minister has grossly offended the opinions and tastes of the people, by appointing a notoriously unfit person. There are evils incident to an Establishment that the most ardent advocate for its existence would not attempt to deny; they would admit them as "the least of two evils." Some of the leading non-conformists express, in strong language, that their objection to the Established Church is not so much political as *religious.*

The Rev. E. Conder, late chairman of the Congregational Union, and one of the most respected ministers of that church, in a speech recently delivered in London, said:

> "Their duty as citizens and politicians was something apart from their duty as members of a church; on the other hand the highest motive of many in desiring to remove the present Establishment was not political but religious. Some said that non-conformity was dying. They might be assured, however, on the question of the burial of non-conformity, because there was only one material of which the tomb of non-conformity would be built, and that was the dismantled walls of the state Establishment; but when its epitaph was written, perhaps it might run in this way: 'In zeal for truth and liberty it was born, and it died in the arms of victory.'"

This is a fair sample of the sentiments constantly uttered in non-conformist assemblies, and as constantly warmly applauded. Men of the largest catholicity of spirit have at times not hesitated to express their personal conviction strongly respecting the Establishment and their duty towards it. The late Rev. Thomas Binney, who was carried to his grave amid, we may say, a nation's regret, forcibly said, when he had a tempting offer to quit the ranks of non-conformity and join the Established Church:

> "My nature, in its highest essence, would be injured; my moral sense would be sacrificed or seduced. I CANNOT DO IT. I will not. This, too, would be *great wickedness and sin against God.* It would be sin against myself. I never will consent to pay such a price for the advantage which clerical conformity can confer. I see them all. I feel their attraction. Principles as to some—preference as to others—taste, habit, association as to most strongly induce and impel me toward them. I could wish them mine. I should be glad to secure them. I would give for them anything consistent with honor. It should not be heroism to refuse that. I determine to refuse it. To all the inducements to enter the Establishment I oppose one thing, and but one. With my predilection, I have little else; but *with my opinions* I ought to have *that*—a living conscience. * * * I go nowhere unless conscience can go with me. I am satisfied to remain wherever it remains. This is my feeling; and the servant of this and of this only, I here resolve to refuse orders."

We have inserted these quotations from representative men as illustrating the fact that there is a strong *religious* objection on the part of many non-conformists to the Established Church.

There are, however, difficulties and disadvantages in the way of disestablishment that must be faced, and that no impartial and honest non-conformist would ignore or deny. Such a step as disestablishment would involve a radical and serious change in the Constitution of England. What shall be done with the Act of Settlement, by which the Protestant succession to the crown was secured? This question many sincere non-conformists anxiously ask. Well, it seems to us that there are two reasonable replies. The legislature could still demand that the sovereign be a Protestant, without determining the church or churches to which he may belong. As the "Act of Settlement" was made by the legislature, it could be revoked, as to its present forms, and be remodelled to meet the altered circumstances. Of course, there could be but little difficulty, assuming the nation's readiness for the change, *per se*, in altering the Act of Settlement.

However, there is another reply possible, and that is, that the sovereign be free to choose either the Roman Catholic or the Protestant religion, and that he be in nowise ruled in this matter of religion. Many of those most ardent for disestablishment would be shocked at this proposition, and would denounce it as highly criminal. But the great difficulty would be removed by disestablishment; for the sovereign would no longer be the head of the church, and nominally have the appointment of church officials. It would be, far more than it is now, a personal matter. Of course the influence of the court would be tremendous, and, if directed against Protestantism, would do it serious damage. However, the difficulty must be faced and settled, and, we hope, in harmony with the highest interests of church and state. There is an argument constantly used by the advocates of Establishment, that we have now a "national recognition of religion, whereas disestablishment would leave us without any national form of religion whatever." It seems very much like a play upon words. In this country there is a strong moral and religious influence, without the state *as such* interfering in religious matters, and so it would be in England. True religion would be stripped of a great deal of its pomp, but it would, we think, be not the less real and influential on that account. Certainly the harmony existing between some of the state officials, the clergy especially, in times past, reminds us of what Luther says was a proverb in his time:

> "Cum mare siccatur, cum Dæmon ad astra levatur tunc clero laicus fidus amicus erit."

There is great force in the argument sometimes adduced that separation of church and state would involve the spiritual destitution of many rural districts, where the people are so few and so generally poor that it would be impossible for them to support a religious cause. We know from experience that there is force in this reasoning. There are parishes with which we are familiar where there is a great deal of moorland, and are constantly thinly populated, where it would be simply impossible for the people to supply the barest wants of a clergyman. The admirable "parochial" system of the Church of England meets this difficulty; so that every parish has its clergyman, who very frequently is not only spiritual but temporal adviser to the neighborhood. If disestablishment take place, it would be a lasting shame to the members of the Episcopal Church if it did not promptly and amply meet the difficulty. The wealth of the Church could well be directed into this channel. Why may not home mission organizations do the work, aided by a central fund, the offering of the many Episcopal churches of England? We feel certain that the Church can do it, and will do it, when put to the test. Other churches are doing a great deal in this direction, and by voluntary effort, in some sense, supplying the lack of the parochial system, and we are therefore sure that the wealthiest church of all, if forced to be voluntary, will not be behind in effort to do good. The Irish Church has shown that disestablishment and disendowment do not mean ruin, but, on the contrary, increased voluntary effort and enterprise. The Archdeacon of Lindisfane, Scotland, stated in an address a few days since that the loss sustained by the Irish Church through disendowment was £560,000; but the voluntary efforts were worthy of mention. In 1870 the members of the more numerous Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland raised £229,753; in 1871, £214,709; in 1872, £286,443; in 1873, £230,179—making a total of £923,086. Certainly the English church will find no difficulty, seeing it has greater wealth and members, in doing vastly more.

The "difficulty of difficulties," however, will be the disendowment question. How to disendow so as to please parties generally, and so as to act justly by respecting individual rights, will tax the powers of the greatest financiers and statesmen. The task seems to be almost impossible of accomplishment. The ramifications of the affair are almost endless, and the difficulties apparently insuperable; but, as a "churchman" has lately said, the difficulty must be grappled with and overthrown. Of all the schemes propounded, that of "gradual disendowment" seems the most feasible and practicable.

Mr. Ropgood, in a recent article in the "Contemporary Review," suggests "that existing legal rights and privileges (other than those strictly fiduciary), should be carefully preserved, or if extinguished it should be by gradual processes." This seems to be the spirit of the scheme. Individual rights and private gifts must be respected, or the rights of property will be grossly violated, and rebound in dishonor on the legislature. The fear generally is not that the Episcopalians will get too little, but that they will get too much. Non-conformists would rather not have disestablishment, if disendowment be not thorough—consistently with personal rights. Happy is the man, who, when the time comes, shall be able to untie the knot; for it will be a far greater task than that which has won for Mr. Gladstone the renown of being a great statesman and financier.

One thing that weighs heavily with all literary men and others, is that the Establishment has afforded "learned leisure" to many who could not have had it had they been clergymen of any free church. As long the English language lives, men will honor those who, within the pale of the Establishment, have enriched our literature with profound and learned works. Will disestablishment remove this leisure? We fear it will, unless the state make special provision for literary men of every grade of opinion. It must be remembered that the professors of our universities are generally clergymen of the establishment, and as such exert a vast influence on the young men of the higher classes, and we think generally with great profit to the young men themselves. There will be evils, doubtless, arising from disestablishment; but we hope and believe they will be overruled by the earnestness of the people to the advancement of learning, as well as peace and good will in the community.

We have almost invariably assumed that disestablishment and disendowment will certainly take place. We have done so because we believe the signs of the times cannot be well misunderstood. Take, for instance, the three schools of religious thought within the Anglican church, having but little in common, save the bonds of Episcopal government and establishment. The perusal of the representative papers of each party tells its own tale. The "Rock" is for ever denouncing the high church party, and the "Church Times" for ever censuring the low church party, whilst the broad church organs almost treat the antagonists with contempt. The prosecution in the "Bennet case," in the "Purchias case," and others, speak of disunion and danger. The great danger to the establishment is not from without, but *within*. Her greatest "foes are those of her own household." Besides, it is notoriously a matter of indifference to some of the extreme high church clergy whether there be disestablishment or not; and since the bill brought in by the Archbishop of Canterbury to suppress "Romish practices" has become law, it is more than probable that some of the high church men will seek to free the church from the state. The bishops are in a difficult position. By some they are charged with not being vigorous enough in suppressing ritualism; by others they are condemned for going too far. One party says they are not faithful to their trust, and another tells them they are forgetting their "fatherly character" by making laws against them. "It is," says Chrysostom, a thing highly to be accounted of, but a hard thing to be, that which a bishop should be." Applying in another sense than Chrysostom ever intended, we certainly think it is a "*hard thing*," especially in England, to-day. The broad church party, ever characterized by their latitudinarian views, are prepared to adopt the "levelling up" system instead of the "levelling down." They would establish, with very few exceptions, all the non-conformist churches—at least such appears to be the desire of Dean Stanley, expressed in a speech recently delivered at the dedication of Dr. Parker's new church, London, where he expressed very cautiously his regard for "concurrent endowment." Dr.

Temple, bishop of Exeter, has also expressed a similar desire in his charge to the clergy of Cornwall. These men are following somewhat in the train of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Maurice, Coleridge, and Kingsley. Their plan is catholic, but not feasible, as they appear to admit. Archdeacon Denison has expressed his intention to join the "Liberation Society" if anything be done against the ritualists, whilst Dr. Pusey, Canon Lidden, and others do not argue warmly for the continuance of the union between church and state. Such is the state of affairs, and leads the non-conformists to feel that they have valuable allies within the Establishment, and that ultimately they will succeed in disestablishing and disendowing the Church of England.

ART. V.—1. *The Ancient World; or, Picturesque Sketches of Creation.* By D. T. ANSTED, M. A., F. R. S., F. G. S. One vol., 12mo. London. 1847.

2. *The Silurian System.* MURCHISON. London.

3. *Exposition du Système du Monde.* LAPLACE.

4. *Les Commencements du Monde.* DE JOUVENCAL.

SO FAR as we can see the universe is subject to immutable laws. The laws of the universe may be defined as the way in which inorganic, organic and mental nature acts. Every phenomenon of nature, so far as we can comprehend it, is produced by the forces of nature, acting under the direction of these fixed laws. The origin of these laws, how they came to be what they are, why they might not be different, and indeed why anything exists, are questions which we are wholly unable to fathom. It is comparatively easy to assume causes which we suppose to be sufficient to produce all these things; but everything that is beyond the experience of the human race is incomprehensible to man. The simplest way, and in fact the only rational way, in which we can dispose of the questions which we have raised, is to assume that the unverse has always existed, and will always exist; that it has always been subject to fixed laws, and always will be. This answer, however, merely implies our complete ignorance of the facts on which the correct solution of these problems must be based, if we except the experience which has taught us to believe that nature's laws are general laws—no exceptions to them. The geometer knows that mathematical laws are fixed laws, but to what extent nature's laws are mathematical laws neither the mathematician nor the physicist can tell. Experience enables us to conclude that each individual, organic being is adapted to the conditions which surround it, if it is enabled to continue a vigorous existence, and it seems to be almost, if not quite certain, that it was developed under such conditions. The principles to which we have now referred lie at the foundation of our interpretations in geological history, and they enable us to predict phenomena which prove to be true to nature.

Although we are unable to ascend to the origin of material things, yet the concatenation of causes and effects, which we assume to extend from the present to a very remote period in geological history, carries us back to a time when the earth was not peopled with any form of organic existence. It even goes further. We learn from it—and to this conclusion there is scarcely a dissenting voice—that there was a period in its existence when it was a liquid—a molten, fiery mass. It is beyond the province of this article to inquire into the cause of this high temperature; that belongs more properly to the theory of the conservation and correlation of forces. It is sufficient for us to state here that it is the tendency of all forces in nature to destroy one another, to seek conditions of equilibrium. All change in the physical universe grows out of this universal principle. According to this view, if one body be warmer than others which surround it, it will become of the same temperature as the others, and these must ultimately be reduced (unless there be some counteract-ing cause) to the temperature of space, whatever that temperature may be. Thus the molten earth would part with its heat, and in course of time become solid. Hence the first events in geological history were simply physical—inorganic. The introduction of life was a succeeding event, brought about, it would appear, as soon as the physical conditions were prepared for it.

When the surface of the earth had once become sufficiently stable to allow of the separation of a permanent ocean,* the constant motion of it would wear away the rocks (igneous rocks they were), and thus the deposition of sedimentary strata would commence. As yet the igneous forces must have been very powerful and active, and the sedimentary strata must have been many times upheaved and thrown out of place, and probably transformed into metamorphic rocks, or such as have become crystalline through the agency of heat greater than that afforded by ordinary atmospheric temperature. The whole series of azoic rocks, or such as are destitute of organic remains, must have been more than once worked up in nature's great mill, driven by igneous and aqueous forces. Indeed, the azoic rocks, technically so called, are not *azoic* rocks in the proper sense of the word, since organic remains have actually been found in them.

The remains of a gigantic Rhizopod,† called by Dr. Dawson, *Eozoön Canadense*, have been found in the Laurentian limestone of Ottawa, in Canada; and fossils have also been found in sub-silurian rocks in Ireland. These facts, and the occurrence of limestones in the azoic strata, prove that organic forces had already commenced their unceasing action; since limestone rocks of later times are known to have been mainly made from organic relics. But this is no proof that there are no true azoic rocks; for what are now called the azoic series are very rarely horizontal, or as they were originally deposited; but the whole series has been upturned, distorted, broken and displaced in a wonderful manner. No description can do full justice to the curious complication which the horizontal and perpendicular forces have introduced into the masses of hard and tough rocks which were formed in that remote era. In one place the strata are bent nearly double, and in another they are entirely snapped asunder and much displaced.

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* The atmosphere perhaps became permanent still earlier.

† See *American Journal Science*, [2] vol. xxxvii, p. 272, and vol. xl., p. 344. Also *Geology of Canada*, p. 49, and *Canadian Naturalist*, vol. iv, p. 300. We are aware that these fossils have been referred to a mineral origin.

Such great changes, brought about by forces so powerful, teach us not to lay too great stress on the absence of organic remains in strata, whose origin dates so near the base, or beginning of what we now call the crust of the earth; since those rocks in which fossils were first deposited, or rather which were in part made up of them, may have been more than once worked over in the great work-shop of nature. To us who live in this age of the world, and who are so familiar with the globe covered with all forms of vegetable and animal life, a world without any kind of organic existence would present a strange appearance. Not a sea-weed floated in the ocean; not a lichen covered the naked rocks; no form of life moved over the rocky skeleton of the globe, and none moved through its waters. All was still, the stillness of absolute death, except the moaning of the boundless ocean as its waves lashed the rocky shores of the desolate islands which were raised above its surface, and the whistling of the wind through the granite peaks which reared their heads above the surrounding sea. Clouds floated in the sky, the rain descended on bare rocks, the rainbow presented its bright colors to a lifeless world, and the sun poured down its rays on the surface of a globe without life to treasure up their useful powers on which man's comfort and happiness so much depend.

The origin of terrestrial life is a subject of legitimate inquiry for man, but it seems to be placed too far beyond his sphere of experience to enable him to arrive at satisfactory results. In its nature the problem is like the problems of metaphysics; there are two sides to it, and it looks as if there always would be. Experiments which have been instituted to solve the question have not, as yet, enlightened us much. That the principle of life exists in the universe we know; but whether it is centered in a Deity, an intelligent unity, or single being, who is placed at the head of the universe, and who is properly the source from which all life and mentality spring; or it is a part of the nature of things, and grows directly out of the laws of the universe, thinking minds are not agreed, nor is it possible to settle the question at this time. The nature and education of mankind incline them at present to the former view. We see on every hand, from the lowest depths to the greatest heights where the temperature permits, life in all its known phases, and each form adapted to its conditions. Professor Thompson has suggested* that terrestrial life was derived from some other planet, through the fall of meteoric stones; and although this is not impossible, judging from our knowledge of nature, yet it only removes the difficulty one step farther back, and tells us nothing respecting the origin of life on the worlds of space.

Whether vegetable or animal life first made its appearance on the earth geologists have not yet fully determined, owing probably to the fact that the former more easily decays, without leaving any remains or signs of having existed, than the most of the latter. Those forms of organic existence which did not possess any solid parts would scarcely be able to leave any remains to be transmitted to our times. The truth is, the preservation of organic remains is not the rule, but the exception. We must always remember, says Lyell, that it has been no part of the plan of nature to hand down to us a complete or systematic history of the earlier ages of the animal and the vegetable world. We may have failed to find a single organic fossil, even in such a formation as that of the valley of the Connecticut river, where footprints of bipeds and quadrupeds. abound; but such failure is no proof that the population of the land or sea was scanty during that era; because the relics of organized existence are not generally preserved in sedimentary strata.* Thus the geologist, who bases definite conclusions on such negative evidence, is quite likely to be led into error. Judging from analogy, however, we should conclude that some low form of vegetable life was better adapted to the early conditions of things than any form of animal life.

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* Inaugural Address before the British Association at Edinburgh, Aug. 2, 1871. *Am. Jour. of Science*, 3d series, vol. ii., p. 293.

Algæ, or sea-weeds, appear to have been the first form of vegetable life to make its appearance. That the primeval seas were better adapted to sustain life such as then existed than the land, seems quite evident. Such plants found conditions adapted to their growth along the shores of the early seas, where the water was not too deep, as similar weeds do now in existing seas. Some modern sea-weeds grow to extraordinary size. Mr. Darwin speaks† of one (*Macrocystis pyrifera*) which flourishes in the Western Ocean near the southern part of South America, amidst the great breakers, "which no mass of rock, let it be ever so hard, can long resist." It is scarcely an inch in diameter, but it is wonderfully strong. Capt. Cook found one at Kerguelen Land, that grew in twenty-four fathoms of water, and since these weeds usually grow obliquely through the water, its whole length was estimated at one hundred and eighty feet. Capt. Fitz Roy found one growing in forty-five fathoms of water.‡

The earliest period, or series of strata, in which organic remains are usually found, is called the *Silurian*, a name given to the formation by Sir Roderick J. Murchison, who derived it from Silures, the designation of a tribe that anciently inhabited certain portions of England and Wales, where the rocks are well developed. We have already seen, however, that the azoic formation, on which the silurian rests, contains fossils whose existence has been recognized; and we may add that it is highly probable, if not certain, that a considerable portion of the series (whose whole thickness is estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand feet*) is made up in part of organic remains; that is, the ancient seas in which the strata were deposited also supported organized beings adapted to an existence in them. The preservation of fossils in those rocks would be extremely difficult, both from the probable nature of the organized bodies and from the grinding process to which they were subsequently subjected.

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* Lyell's *Prin. of Geology*, vol. i., p. 147, eleventh edition.

† *Voyage of the Beagle*, vol. i., p. 308.

‡ *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, vol. i., p. 363.

Organic existence, as exhibited by the remains left in the earth's crust, has been divided into several periods, as follows, commencing with the most ancient: The Azoic Age; the Age of Mollusks, or Silurian; the Age of Fishes, or Devonian; the Carboniferous Age; the Age of Reptiles; the Age of Mammals, and the Age of Man.† In relation to the vegetable creation, the algæ, or sea-weeds, extend, very probably, into the azoic. The acrogens, or the highest forms of flowerless plants, have their greatest expansion in the carboniferous age, where they occur with abundance of conifers, or cone-bearing plants—inferior kind of flowering vegetation. The cycads, a genus intermediate between palms and ferns, have their greatest expansion in the age of reptiles. The dicotyledous, or plants having two seed lobes, and palms, begin in the reptilian age and expand into the age of man.

None of these ages are distinctly marked. Three of the great divisions of the animal kingdom, the Radiates, the Mollusks, and the Articulates appear to have begun at nearly the same time, geologically speaking, but the Mollusks have a much wider expansion—were far more numerous—in the silurian period, than either of the other two divisions. The fourth great division of the animal kingdom, the Vertebrates, begin with the fishes in the Devonian period. Reptiles commenced in the age of fishes, but they did not reach their most extended limits till the age succeeding the carboniferous period. Mammals have their origin in the age of reptiles, and they appear to have reached their greatest expansion just previous to the age of man, or perhaps in the early part of it.* New discoveries may yet show that some of these divisions of the animal kingdom had an earlier beginning than here supposed, but they will not change the general conclusions given.

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* Dana's *Manual of Geology*, p. 143.

† *Id.*, p. 128.

We see that while there has been a change from one form of animal and vegetable life to another, there was no sudden transition from a lower to a higher form. One kind laps, so to speak, on another; and while one species, one genus, one family, one order, or one class, was gradually dying out, another one was as gradually expanding and gaining the ascendancy. It is not at all times an easy matter to decide which of two closely-allied forms of animal or vegetable life is to be regarded as the higher; and as a general rule it becomes necessary to compare such forms as are separated by wider differences in structure and habits. Whatever conclusions we arrive at, this one thing is certain, and it may be taken as a general principle, derived from observation, namely, that each form of organic existence is adapted to the physical conditions which surround it, if it maintains a vigorous life. If it is surrounded with uncongenial influences, it languishes and gradually tends towards extermination. Some kinds have a constitution so elastic that they can gradually adapt themselves to changed conditions, and thus continue an existence which, in other cases, ceases. Reasoning in this way, we discover a progress in the forms of life—a gradual progress, though the gradations do not at all times appear to be complete†—from the lowest to the highest yet manifested on the globe, and we hence conclude that the physical conditions—including in these not only food, warmth, atmosphere, fluids and solids, but the ability to maintain an existence against a powerful living enemy—have gradually improved from the earliest ages down to the present. *How* the higher forms of life came into existence is the great question of the day, but one which we do not purpose discussing here.

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* Dana's *Manual*, p. 128.

† Perhaps the reason of this is, that a complete geological history, such as it is possible in nature for man to make out, has not yet been determined from the "evidence of the rocks."

If we follow out the history of each geological organic period, we shall find none of them marked out, as it were, by a wall, so that its limits can be readily determined; but the reality of the age is marked by the culmination of some new idea in the system of progress. Through each age the continents have their own special history, and there is but little probability that the events of any two were very nearly synchronous.

In respect to time it has been found useful to divide geological history into periods, as follows, beginning with the earliest: Azoic Time, or the period without life; Palæozoic Time, or period of ancient life; Mesozoic Time, or middle period of life; Cenozoic Time, or period of recent life; and the Era of Progressive Mind, or the period of man.

These divisions, both with respect to age and to time, are the great periods into which modern geologists divide the series of changes through which the crust of the earth* has passed from the earliest geological epoch down to the present moment. Nature herself has marked out numerous subdivisions, of which geologists have taken advantage, and these minor divisions serve a useful purpose in treating in detail the subject of geological history.

If land plants or land animals existed in the early periods of the formation of the earth's crust, no remains of them have yet been found. The ocean and the seas appear to have been the only theatre of life for many ages in the primitive periods of the earth's development. All organic remains which belonged to the silurian period are of marine origin. We hence conclude that the ocean must have been salt in those days, but it was probably less so than at present; for all the rivers which have been pouring their waters into it for so many thousands of years must certainly have carried a great amount of saline matter into it, which would be washed from the different strata through which the rivers passed, and which they drained. Up to the close of the American upper silurian period, no signs of fresh-water lakes and rivers, and fresh-water deposits, have been discovered, though it is almost certain that they existed.

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* *Crust* here means so much of the earth's volume as is open to the inspection of man. Owing to the upheaval of the lower strata, in mountain chains and elsewhere, this crust has a thickness of several miles. This term must not be confounded with a former notion that the actual solid part of the globe was confined to a shell of only limited thickness, varying from fifty to a hundred miles. Except *streams* of liquid rocks, the earth is probably solid to the centre.

The animals of the primordial or lowest silurian period were very simple in their structure, and the number of species small. They represent the organic forces of the period, and it is wonderful to what extent these simple structures were able to work over the inorganic materials of the globe. But the rule is, the smaller the animals the greater the number of them, and their work was unceasing. Such has been the case throughout the whole course of organic geological history.

We have already mentioned that limestone is mainly of organic origin. Silicean materials (from which we have flints) are devived from the silicean shields of the infusoria called diatoms which are now regarded as plants; and the siliceous specula of sponges. Both these are microscopic. In the remaining part of this paper we shall make no effort to follow the chronological succession of strata, but shall treat of the influence of organic forces in modifying the structure of the earth's crust. We shall more especially speak of the influence of those small animals which are only visible by means of the microscope, and in many instances microscopes of considerable power. The life forces of these little animals, secrete material from the water in which they live, and in this way a skeleton of stone, or a shield is formed, and when the animal dies, the stony substance sinks to the bottom, where the shields thus constructed actually form extensive rocky strata. It is not too much to say, remarks Professor Hitchcock, that two-thirdsof the strata have been formed by the influence of organic forces.*

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* *Geology*, p. 89.

Indeed, it is difficult to find a piece of rock, or a handful of earth, that has not, at some former period, been worked over by the life forces. It was the opinion of Dr. Mantell that "probably there is not an atom of the solid materials of the globe which has not passed through the complex and wonderful laboratory of life."*

The total amount of organic strata has a thickness of about eight miles. A large portion, as we have already mentioned, of organic material, has been worked over by the forces of nature, so that a vast amount of rocks, which now appear to contain but a small proportion of organic fossils, is largely composed of matter once moulded by the life forces.

Animals and plants which now exist are arranged into distinct groups, each of which occupies a certain district of land or water, and one group seldom encroaches on another. These are called zoological and botanical provinces; or districts.† Owing to the difference in light and heat, food and climate, one group of animals or plants could not long survive a removal out of its native province, if the change be sudden; but how far the change might be sustained if it were gradual we cannot so well decide.

Organic remains occur in all the strata from the lowest silurian to the most recent, the azoic rocks proper being the only ones in which they do not occur. They have been dug out several thousand feet beneath the present surface; they abound in the Alps at a height of six to eight thousand feet above the level of the sea; in the Pyrenees at nearly the same height; and in the Andes and the Himalayas at the height of sixteen thousand feet. Not unfrequently beds or layers of rocks many feet in thickness seem to be composed almost wholly of the remains of animals and plants; and even mountains are composed almost wholly of organic materials.

We have already mentioned that in many cases organic remains are broken and ground into small pieces. This, however, is not always the case. The arrangement is sometimes as follows. If the fossiliferous formation be of considerable thickness, the whole is divided into many distinct beds of varying thickness. There will be layers of argillaceous or siliceous rocks containing but few remains, or perhaps none at all; next will succeed perhaps a calcareous layer, well filled with organic fossils in a nearly perfect state; following this will be a layer perhaps without any remains; then a layer containing remains, and so on through the whole bed. Even in the solid rocks (as in the Devonian series) there will be layers of organic remains where the fossils are thickly imbedded, and between such layers scarcely any organic remains are to be seen.

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* *Wonders of Geology*, vol. ii., p. 670.

† Lyell's *Principles*, vol. ii., p. 337.

From these facts we infer that the animals lived (each in its own province) and died where their remains are now imbedded; and we hence know that the water in which they lived was quiet, so that in many instances the most delicate markings have been distinctly preserved throughout countless ages. Each animal, which floated in the water, sunk to the bottom as it died, and there it was enveloped with mud, and then the process of consolidation and petrifaction went slowly on to completion. In some instances the process of deposition went on so quietly that the skeletons and other parts of microscopic animals, which the very slightest disturbance would have crushed if not obliterated, are well preserved.

The accumulations of the relics of these minute animals in the rocks are sometimes prodigious. From a quantity of stone in Tuscany, weighing less than an ounce and a half, Soldani obtained ten thousand four hundred and fifty-four chambered shells, like the nautilus; and of these it took four or five hundred to weigh one grain; and of one species it took one thousand to weigh that amount. These were marine shells.*

In fresh water accumulations a microscopic crustacean called *cypris* not unfrequently occurs in great quantities. In the Hastings sand and the Purbeck limestone, in England, strata a thousand feet thick are filled with them; and in Auvergne, in France, there is a deposit seven hundred feet thick over an area twenty miles wide and eighty long, which is divided into layers as thin as paper, by the exuvia of the cypris.*

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* Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i., p. 117.

The investigations of Ehrenberg, the celebrated Prussian naturalist, have brought to light some still more remarkable facts respecting the influence of these minute animals in the formation of the earth's solid strata. In one place in Germany he found a bed fourteen feet thick, which is made up of the shields of animalcula so small that it would require forty-one thousand millions of them to make a cubic inch; and in another place there was a similar bed having double that thickness. In Massachusetts there exist numerous beds, formed of the siliceous shields of animalcula rather larger than those referred to above, which have a thickness of many feet; and other similar beds exist in numerous other places in the eastern states. Prof. Wm. B. Rogers found, in the tertiary strata of Virginia, beds covering large areas, and having a thickness from twelve to twenty-five feet, composed of these shields.†

Limestone, as we have said, is probably mostly, if not wholly, of organic origin. One kind, that known as Nummulitic limestone, is especially remarkable. This kind of rock is mainly composed of thin, disk-like fossils called nummulites, from their resemblance to money. They are of diminutive size, and belong to what are called many-chambered shells. Nummulitic limestone belongs to the tertiary formation, and it is found in the middle eocene strata. The beds of this era are very extensive. They occur in the London and Paris basins; and they cover a part of the Pyrenean and Mediterranean basins, besides many other places in Europe. They spread over portions of the Alps to a height of ten thousand feet above the level of the sea: over portions of the Pyrenees, the Apennines, and the Carpathians. They are found on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, to a height of sixteen thousand five hundred feet, in western Thibet. They extend into Africa in the northern parts, and in Egypt, where the Sphynx and parts of the pyramids were made of nummulitic limestone. They are found in Asia Minor, Persia, Caucasus, India, and the mountains of Afghanistan. Thus we see the extent to which the little nummulites have contributed to the formation of the earth's strata.*

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* *Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. I. p. 118.

† *Report on the Geol. of Virginia*, for 1840, p. 28.

The division of the animal kingdom known as radiates are the most simple in structure of all animals, and the farthest removed from common observation. They are commonly called zoophytes. The number found in a fossil state is very large, and they differ very considerably from those which now exist. Encrinites, or *stone lilies*, have long attracted attention from their peculiar structure. Immense quantities of their remains occur in encrinal limestone. The number of bones, or joints, composing the head of this species, is estimated at twenty-six thousand. The *pentacrinite* had a greater number of side arms; and the bones in its fingers and tentacula amount to at least a hundred thousand.

Infusoria, or such animalcula as live in some sort of infusion, are so small that, with few exceptions, they can be seen only by the aid of powerful microscopes. Ehrenberg has enumerated several hundred species of living infusoria, which swarm almost everywhere, in the fluids of living animals, even such as appear to be healthy. These minute animals have stomachs, teeth, and mouths, and various other organs possessed by larger animals. Some of these animals are so small that it would take twenty-four thousand of them to extend over a linear inch. The skin of their stomach is no more than the fifty-millionth of an inch in thickness. Ehrenberg estimates that five hundred millions of these animals do sometimes actually exist in a drop of water. The rapidity of their increase is even more astonishing than their size; for the same naturalist says that in one species a single individual is capable of becoming in four days one hundred and seventy billions.†

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* Dana's *Manual*, p. 523–4.

† *Am. Jour. Science*, vol. xxxv., p. 372.

We have already mentioned that the skeletons of these or similar animalcula are found in a fossil state, and that they form extensive beds in this country and in Europe. A cubic inch of these skeletons, which would be composed of forty-one thousand individuals, would weigh only two hundred and twenty grains ; so that a single shield, or skeleton, would weigh but the one hundred and eighty-seven millionth of a grain.

Bog iron-ore has been shown by the discoveries of Ehrenberg to consist of millions of organic bodies (*Gallionella ferruginea*), the remains of a plant of simple structure. He had observed in the marshes about Berlin a substance of a deep ochre yellow passing into red, which covered the bottoms of the ditches, where the evaporation of the water left it dry. It looked like the oxide of iron, but under the microscrope it was seen to consist of slender articulated threads, or plates, partly siliceous and partly ferruginous.* These plants belong to a family called Diatomaceæ.

We have yet to mention the origin of chalk, which recent discoveries, growing out of the laying of the Atlantic cable, have proved to be at present forming in the bed of the Atlantic. Chalk occupies a considerable space in the earth's strata. It is found in Ireland, a large part of France, in Denmark and central Europe, in northern Africa, in the Crimea, in Syria, and in central Asia. The whole area is equal to that of Europe.

Chalk is found to consist almost wholly of organized bodies called *Globigerinae*, which are rendered visible by means of the microscope. In 1853, Lieut. Brooke obtained mud from the bottom of the Atlantic, between Newfoundland and the Azores, from a depth of more than ten thousand feet, and specimens were sent for examination to Ehrenberg, in Berlin, and Bailey, of West Point. These microscopists found the mud to be composed almost entirely of the skeletons of Globigerinae. In sounding for a line for the Atlantic cable, similar mud was obtained and submitted to Prof. Huxley for examination, and the result was the same as what we have described.*

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* Taylor's *Scientific Memoirs*, vol. i., part iii., p. 402.

The facts which we have now given are sufficient to show the wonderful influence which the organic forces of nature have had in the formation of the earth's crust, and in preparing it for the habitation and support of the higher forms of life. Without these facts, which the science of geology has revealed to us, we could scarcely realize, even in a small degree, the influence which the life forces are now exerting both to produce and to prevent changes on the earth's surface. We have learned a little—not a little, a great deal—about the material universe, and yet how little it is compared with the unknown!

ART. VI.—1. *Statements of Theodore Tilton accusing Rev. Henry Ward Beecher of certain immoral acts.*

2. *Statements of Mrs. Tilton in vindication of her Pastor and of herself.*

3. *Statements of Frank D. Moulton as "Mutual Friend."*

4. *Statements of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in proof of his own Innocence and that of Mrs. Tilton, &c., &c.*

5. *Various other Statements and Mis-statements in the Newspapers and elsewhere.*

THOSE who expect us to indulge in lascivious language because our subject is lascivious must not read this article. But as little need it be expected that we shall be prudish or hypocritical. There is no reason why the weaknesses or passions of human nature may not be discussed without exciting pruriency. By this we do not mean that anything is to be gained by invading the privacy of domestic life, and dragging before the public things which, however reprehensible in themselves, only concern those who are alleged to have taken part in them. But if the parties concerned choose to present them to the public, then they become as legitimate objects of discussion and criticism as any other.

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* *Deep-sea Soundings in the North Atlantic Ocean, between Ireland and Newfoundland, in H. M. S. Cyclops.*

There is nothing in the relation of the sexes upon which everything that is necessary may not be said without the slightest impropriety. But no details are needed for this. Accordingly we deviate from our usual course in the present instance. Our readers are aware that it is our habit to give specimens of any publications we condemn, whether they be romances, essays, letters, verses, etc. But the great difficulty in the case under consideration is, that far too many specimens have been given already—so many, indeed, that if the public were not disgusted, the fact would only show that the public stomach is strong enough to be equal to any emergency

With the exception that one of the parties is a minister of the Gospel, there is nothing peculiar in the difficulty between Mr. Tilton and Mr. Beecher. Even in this respect, we may as well admit that there is no novelty in the case. It is no slur on any religious sect; nor is it a slur on Christianity to say that there is no church whose priesthood is immaculate in this respect. The most illustrious bishops and archbishops, Protestant and Catholic, and even popes, have at times had to confess themselves overcome by the charms of woman. It is, then, but a slightly modified version of a very old story, a story of which there will be repetitions as long as man and woman exist on the earth, and have no different nature from that they have at present, and had in the past, as far as any history, sacred or profane, gives us any account of their feelings and aspirations. If we are correct in this, it will be admitted that we are also correct in the opinion that five hundred times more noise has been made about this affair than was at all seemly or sensible—certainly an amount which goes far to justify, if it does not prove, that we are the most uproariously excitable people on the face of the earth. A party of boys returning from school and finding a porcupine's nest, with several young porcupines in it, when they have made but little progress in their natural history, could hardly express their surprise and astonishment after a more bizarre fashion.

By this we do not mean but that the charge against the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is of the gravest character. A minister of the Gospel who will seduce the wife of his friend, who is also a member of his congregation, commits an offence very different in turpitude from that of the man of the world, who makes no pretension to set himself up as a teacher of either religion or morality. Accordingly, a broad distinction has always been made, even among Pagans, between the priest and the layman found guilty of adultery. Among the ancient Scandinavians, as well as among the Greeks and Romans, the priests were liable to be put to death for this offence, while laymen were punished merely by fines or forfeitures, when punished at all. Under the most favorable circumstances the adulterous priests were deprived of their priesthood, and never permitted again to offer incense to the gods. The Christian church has always claimed to pursue the same course; although it has ever made an allowance for human weakness even in the case of its priests, for if it was not publicly known that the priest was guilty—if his conduct had not caused open scandal—he was forgiven for the first offence, and perhaps for the second. But if he got the name in public of being an adulterer—if his immoralities became notorious among his parishioners—then, even if his superiors believed him innocent, he could no longer ascend the pulpit as a teacher of religion and morality. If his superiors allowed him to do so public opinion would not, except, indeed, that public opinion had become very much vitiated, or, what would amount to the same, that it was never sufficiently enlightened to be able to distinguish hypocrisy from piety, or a burlesque on religion from religion itself.

With the layman it has been different in all ages and climes, and it is so at the present day. Before proceeding to illustrate this we will call attention to a remarkable fact: Has it occurred to any of our readers that all nations have used violence, or abstained from violence, while smarting from this offence, precisely in proportion as they have been backward or made progress in civilization? The Huns, the Vandals, and the Visigoths either assassinated those who seduced their wifes or sisters, or they forgave them on the payment of a certain amount of money, or its equivalent in goods. Up to the time of Alfred the Great, every Englishman charged with adultery might prepare for death in the event of his being unable to furnish a certain amount of money or merchandise. Nor did the doctrine, "your money or your life," entirely cease to be practised in relation to this matter until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Henry VI., of the house of Lancaster, issued a proclamation declaring that all who would take the law into their own hands for this cause, more than for any other, would incur capital punishment without benefit of clergy. The French, German, and Spanish sovereigns had similar troubles with their subjects. In all these countries, the only one in which "lynch law" is practised to any extent in regard to this offence, and upheld by public opinion, at the present day, is Spain; and Spain forms this exception because she has retrograded in intelligence and enlightenment. In England, France or Germany there is no other violence on account of this offence, save among common people, than that of the duel, which is now seldom had recourse to. Among the better classes in all those countries, if a man finds that he has been injured in this respect, he deems it more honorable, as well as more sensible, to apply to the courts for redress, if he wants any, than to use either pistol or dagger.

Viewed in this light, it must be admitted that the conduct of Mr. Tilton toward Mr. Beecher, although by no means exemplary, shows that some progress has been made in our civilization. If his statements are true, it is certain that he has received as much provocation as any of those who, within the past decade or two, have shot down in cold blood the alleged seducers of their wives, without giving them a moment's notice, or any opportunity of defending themselves. Those who censure Mr. Tilton most severely should bear in mind that at no time has he attempted or threatened any personal violence to Mr. Beecher. Whatever may be his faults he has shown by his forbearance in this respect that it is not in vain that he has been a student, has studied philosophy, and has disciplined and exercised his reasoning faculties.

We have said, however, that his conduct has been by no means exemplary. By this we mean, that, although he has abstained from the violence of the gladiator, he has not abstained from the violence of the she fishmonger. There are thoughts, by no means deep-seated, which he has not yet fathomed. It is really but a vulgar notion, after all, that a man is dishonored by the infidelity of his wife. No one is dishonored who has not brought dishonor on himself by some act of his own. If Mr. Beecher has dishonored Mr. Tilton by seducing his wife, the greatest, most gifted, and most illustrious men of all ages and countries have been dishonored in a similar manner. The bravest captains, conquerors, kings and emperors have been "dishonored;" but who has esteemed any of them the less on this account? Yet how often do we hear the most worthless people talk about being dishonored, as if one could be injured in a thing he never possessed! In other words, it is too apt to be forgotten that a man can no more lose honor which he never had, than he can lose a horse, a cow, a donkey, or any other piece of property of which he has never been the owner. Nor is the truth of this set aside by the fact that it is those who have least honor, or no honor to lose, or be injured in any manner, that make the loudest outcry, or are most blood-thirsty when they fancy or pretend that they are "dishonored;" the same as the person who loses a few dollars or an empty purse, perhaps neither dollar nor purse, is more ready to cry "thief," "robber," "villain," etc., than he who is really robbed of a fortune.

We have reminded the reader that just in proportion as a people are barbarous, or deficient in intelligence and enlightenment, are they prone to violence and bloodshed in cases like that of Mr. Beecher. We are sorry to make this remark, as it seems to imply that our Southern fellow-citizens are not far removed from barbarism at the present day, for there need be little doubt that if the pastor of Plymouth church had been detected in the South in such "pastoral" performances as those attributed to him by Mr. Tilton in relation to his wife, he might never have been able to deliver another sermon, or make any "statement" in proof of his innocence. But our object is not to flatter, or even to please, North or South, but to tell the truth, feeling that in the long run it will prove much better, and consequently more friendly than flattery or praise. But the day will come when the Southerners, too, will cease to take the law into their own hands and act the part of the packed jury, the prejudiced judge, and the hired human butcher all combined. In the worst of times they were nothing worse in this respect than their English ancestors were. But centuries have past since the latter ceased to regard assassination and murder as justified by the seduction of wife or sister. The English of the present day view the whole matter in a different light. Even their statutes justly and wisely recognize the fact that even when the offence of adultery is fully proved or undeniable, it by no means follows that the woman was the party seduced. Like the French and the Germans, the English have adopted from the Roman law the principle that since a woman is a reasoning being, claiming to be the equal of man, it is absurd to treat her in this matter as if she were a child, or belonged to the lower species of animals. Be it remembered, that as long as the Romans viewed her in this light they enacted special laws for her protection, or, rather, for the protection of her husband; so that among the public functionaries were those whose sole duty it was to watch over the morals of the women and denounce such as were unfaithful to their husbands, so that the latter could divorce them at once.*

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* Des institutions des Romains mettaient les femmes dans une perpétuelle tatelle, à moins qu'elles ne fussent sous l'autorité d'un mari.—Montesquieu. *De l'Esprit des Lois*, Liv. VII., c. xii.

For a part of the time of Sallust some of these laws were still in force; so that when he was in his thirtieth year (B. C. 50) his political opponents had him expelled from the senate for alleged adultery with the wife of a brother senator. This, however, did him no permanent injury. Only three years later he obtained the pretorship, and was restored to the senate. We need hardly say, in passing, that no intelligent, sensible person values the noble moral precepts of Sallust, both in his Catilina and his Jugurtha anything the less because he was not only accused of an offence like that charged against Mr. Beecher, but punished for it by expulsion. It should be remembered at the same time that, had Sallust been a priest, like Beecher, instead of being a politician and historian, his priestly career would have been at an end. In any case it does not appear that the "dishonored" husband would make any boisterous outcry, or that he would make use of any mutual friend to procure a salve for the wounds inflicted upon him.

However this may be, as we have alluded to those laws which regarded women as incapable of distinguishing right from wrong—at least, incapable, like Mrs. Tilton, of comprehending that anything which might pass between themselves and their spiritual advisers could be otherwise than proper and holy—we think it but fair to add that, although our leading newspapers have been severely censured for having given so much publicity to the details of the charge against Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton, they can adduce as high authority for doing so as the most learned lawyer can adduce in support of any point he may make or maintain before judge or jury in the same case. In proof of this we quote the following testimony from Montesquieu, only premising that he is fully sustained in his opinion by all the ancient writers worthy of credence who have treated the subject. "La loi romaine qui voulait que *l' accusation* de l' adultère *fut publique* était *admirable* pour *maintenir la pureté de mœurs;* elle intimidait les femmes; elle intimidait aussi ceux qui devaient veiller sur elles.*

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* *De l'Esprit des Lois*, Liv. V., c. vii.

It is almost needless to say that those ladies who needed tutelage were particularly opposed to that part of the law against infidelity which required that all charges of adultery should be made in public, and in fact, receive as much publicity as possible; and, for the reason already mentioned, still more opposed to it, if possible, were the pious *patres patrati* and certain other *patres* who labored under infirmities such as those now attributed to the *pater patratus* of Plymouth church.

Although Cæsar was the most popular man of his time, he soon learned that he must either abandon all idea of the priestly office, or so regulate his conduct that at least he should give rise to no scandal. But once satisfied on this point he did not hesitate for a moment. He set a high value, in his youth, on the insignia of the *Patres Fetiales* as a means of gaining the hearts of the people; but when the question arose whether he would choose the insignia of the priesthood in preference to the intimate society of the ladies, the conqueror of the Gauls, and of Scipio and Pompey, wanted to be pious no longer!

Indeed there is nothing more remarkable in the history of that brave, powerful, and proud nation than the broad distinction which the Romans made between the priest and the layman in a moral point of view. Nor need we go beyond Cæsar for a sufficient illustration of this. He exchanged one wife for another at least four times, and each of the discarded ladies belonged to one of the first families in Rome. Such was his influence over the beautiful Cleopatra, that when she could not reach him by any other means, she had herself conveyed in a sack to his camp. And Plutarch informs us* that she had a child by him, which she called Cæsario. He made love in a similar manner to Eunoe, Queen of Mauritania. As for the Roman ladies with whom he had intrigues they were almost innumerable. Several are immortalized in Roman history, but it is not necessary that we should mention more than two or three. One of these was Tertulla, the wife of Crassus, another Lollia, the wife of Gabinius, another Posthumia, the wife of Servius Sulpitius. Even the wife of his great rival, Pompey, was not safe from Cæsar, for it was notorious that he was intimate with Mutia. It was equally well known that he was intimate with Servilia, the sister of Cato, and mother of Marcus Brutus, so that Brutus was very generally regarded as the son of Cæsar.

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* Life of Cæsar, c. 13.

We are informed by historians that all these ladies were beautiful and accomplished, but we are not informed that any of them had a Tilton for a husband or brother. Cæsar walked the street as freely as any other citizen of Rome; but no one ever made any attempt on his life, or tried to blackmail him on account of his amours. Pompey was quite aware of his intimacy with Mutia, his wife, but this did not prevent him from marrying Cæsar's daughter some years later.

But the most remarkable incident of all, and the one best calculated to show how much public opinion at Rome had changed in the course of one generation—since the Romans used to use the knife and the dagger the same as the Visigoths, Vandals, and Huns have since in similar cases—the same as the pistol and the bowie-knife are used to-day in the less enlightened districts of our own country—was that which occurred in the senate-house between Cato and Cæsar on the occasion of the great debate as to whether the followers of Catiline should be put to death or not. After Cæsar had delivered his immortal oration against capital punishment, and was about to withdraw, a letter was placed somewhat stealthily in his hand, but the movement did not escape the lynx eye of Cato, who at once called out to Cæsar to deliver up the letter —that it was no other than a communication from the conspirators. Everybody saw that Cæsar was unwilling to comply, but perceiving that by withholding it he should incur further suspicion as to his alleged sympathy with the conspirators, he handed it to Cato as required. The great censor read it anxiously, but finding, to his mortification, that it was nothing more nor less than a love-letter to Cæsar from his own daughter, Servilia, he threw it back to him saying, "*Ibi temulente!*"

It may well be asked, we are aware, what resemblance is there between Beecher and Cæsar? We admit there is none at all. If there be any truth or justice in the adage, "to the brave belong the fair," certainly there never lived one who had a better right to a picking choice than Cæsar. But the reverse of this is true of Beecher, according to the same adage, for even a tailor—vulgarly called the ninth part of a man—would hardly have mortgaged his house for $5,000, and whined and blubbered, like an overgrown baby, to save him from exposure! At least, an innocent tailor would scarcely have betrayed such abject cowardice. As for comparing Beecher and Cæsar as authors, even with the "Life of Christ" thrown in with the Star Papers, it would be something like comparing the Adventures of Jack the Giant Killer to the Iliad of Homer, or the tragedies of Sophocles.

We have referred to Cæsar, at all, in this article only to show that, in proportion as a nation becomes enlightened, it sets aside its ferocity in affairs of the heart as well as in affairs of the stomach. It may be replied that what the Pagans have done in such delicate cases as that of Mr. Beecher is no criterion for a Christian people like us. This is very true; but will the same argument apply to the relations between Dante and Beatrice, and Petrarch and Laura? The husband of Beatrice was neither a Tilton nor a Sickles; nor was the husband of Laura. Nay, the spouses of those ladies seem to have felt more complimented than otherwise; and some of their descendants have written elaborate and learned works to claim the honor for them of having had wives capable of inspiring the passion of love in such men.* In these cases both ladies and gentlemen were good Catholics; they lived all their life among good Catholics, and among the warmest friends of each were princes of the church; illustrious ecclesiastics who were at once pious and learned. Yet there was no casting of stones, either real or metaphorical—no such scandalous uproar as that which the world has beheld during the last three months, not only in Brooklyn and New York, but in almost every city and town from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Our readers may remember that, some two years ago, we indulged in some gloomy forebodings in these pages, while criticising a work compiled by a Nun of the Sacred Heart,* as a textbook for young ladies, and in which the amours of the gods and goddesses were duly set forth by way of question and answer, as things useful to be studied and known in so enlightened an age as this, by the future wives and mothers of America! The questions about Juno and Venus—especially about the latter—and the answers to those questions, seemed to us ominous; for the pious authoress could not see that there was any great harm, after all, in the infidelities of the beautiful Aphrodite to so ugly a god and husband as Vulcan.

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* Vide N. Q. R., No. LIII., Art. *Petrarch and Laura.*

Far be it from us to say, or insinuate, however, that there is less virtue among Catholics than among Protestants, or that the former have not as high a sense of honor as the latter. The infirmity under consideration is neither Pagan nor Christian; neither Catholic nor Protestant; for it prevails to a greater or less extent among all sects and denominations, independently of rites and dogmas.

We have alluded above to the treatment which the Huns, Visigoths and Vandals gave those found guilty of adultery. Tacitus informs us that the ancient Germans were still more ferocious, if possible. As for the male, to be flayed alive, impaled, or to have his brains scattered about, was deemed a mild punishment for him. The punishment of the female commenced with cutting off or dragging out her hair; she was then stripped naked in the presence of her relatives, and the inhabitants of the whole village gathered to see that she was sufficiently beaten and bruised! This may seem an exaggeration, but if so it is not ours, but that of Tacitus.†

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* Vide N. Q. R., No. L., Art. *New Catechism for Young Ladies: Gods and Godesses.*

† Accisis crinibus, nudatum, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac *per omnem vicum verbere agit*, etc.—*De Situ, Moribus, et Populis Germaniæ*, ch. xix.

Now, if we turn from the Germans of the time of Tacitus to the Germans of the present day, what a contrast shall we behold! There is no more orderly, or less violent, people in the world. And just in proportion as they attain the highest culture are they thus serene and peaceful in their domestic habits. It is universally admitted that German culture reached its highest development at Weimer, when Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, Jacobi, and Lessing were welcome and honored guests at the court of Karl August. Everybody acquainted with German literature is aware of the relations of Goethe with Charlotte (Lottie), the young wife of Kestner. But the only difficulty that arose from those relations was that Goethe had the bad taste to publish them to the world. Even then there was no great fuss—only a slight coolness for a while, which ended in entire forgiveness to Goethe—very unlike the forgiveness of Tilton to Beecher. Referring to the first meeting of Goethe and his wife, Kestner says: "No woman here had pleased him. Lotchen at once fixed his attention. * * * She quite fascinated him, the more so because she took no trouble about it." Further on the husband says: "There were many remarkable scenes in which Lotchen's behavior heightened my regard for her, and *he also became more precious to me as a friend;* but I was often inwardly astonished that *love can make such strange creatures* even of the strongest and otherwise the most self-sustained men. I pitied him, and had many inward struggles," etc. Again we read: "Goethe was constantly in Lottie's house, where his arrival was a jubilee to the children." True all this was prior to the publication of Werther. In order to console Kestner for the pangs he suffered for the indiscreet conduct of Goethe in revealing all in his book the author writes: "If you are generous, and do not wrong me, I will send you letters, cries, sighs after Werther, and if you have faith, believe that all will be well, and *gossip is nothing*, and weigh well your philosopher's letter, which I have kissed."*

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* See Lewis's *Life and Works of Goethe*, vol. i., p. 231, *et seq.*

There was no Moulton, nor Carpenter, nor Wilkeson nor Johnson, in this case. Nor did the public think it was any part of its business to become excited, or raise any uproar. And be it remembered that Goethe, too, assisted at the marriage of the beloved one. While the Kestners were betrothed Goethe kept company with Lottie as much as he did after their marriage. There was but little change in this respect until Goethe became smitten by another. True, Goethe was not a preacher; when he made visits he did not pretend that they were "pastoral visits." He never called God or man to witness that he visited Lottie only to pray for her! Nor did he tell Lottie to leave her husband, that he was a bad man. And instead of going stealthily to any Bowen to advise him to deprive Kestner of his bread and butter, there was nothing he could do to serve or gratify Kestner but he faithfully did for the rest of his life.

It may be said that the Kestners were not of so much consequence as the Tiltons—that the former had not so much honor as the latter, and, therefore, could not be so much "dishonored." We will not argue this point, but we imagine that if it were worth while to bring the necessary amount of research to bear upon it the Kestners would be found at least as rich in the matter of honor as the Tiltons, even should there be a Bessie Turner on the other side!

But what of the Frau Von Stein? Here was the wife of a privy counsellor; a baroness and "Hofdame" (lady of honor), at the court of Carl August, the most munificent patron of literature, science, and the arts of his time. It was no secret to any one at Weimer that Goethe was in love with this highly aristocratic, cultivated and gifted lady; and it was quite as well understood that if his passion was not fully reciprocated it was at least graciously accepted and appreciated by the baroness. No one knew this better than the lady's husband. Goethe wrote to her daily as freely as if she were his betrothed mistress. His epistles are full of such expressions as "good night, angel, and good morning," "dearest creature." "You are always the same; always infinite love and goodness." "Love me as ever," etc., etc. But these letters were placed in the hands of no Moulton; they gave rise to no pistol scene, or to any "prayerful tears, for that dear-beloved child, as pure as snow."

But let us turn to the picture on the other side. Goethe is sometimes called an infidel, and even an idolator; but none of his biographers inform us that he ever offered to humble himself, even to a privy counsellor and baron, as he would to his God. The Greeks and Romans had some very paltry gods, as we learn from Lucian and others; but among the meanest there was hardly one so shabby as Tilton has proved himself to be. Yet the great preacher would prostrate himself, in the plenitude of his innocence, before so miserable a deity, and then go round the corner and try to deprive him of his ambrosia!

But we have given the case of no Christian divine as an illustration, with the exception of his Holiness Alexander VI., who, it may be said, is no more a case in point, since he was not a Protestant, than David or Solomon of the old dispensation. But it is otherwise with the Rev. Jonathan Swift, and the Rev. Tobias Sterne, both of whom, we are told, were grossly libelled, in the matter of their virtue, by some of their contemporaries, although it does not appear that either was blackmailed, that either offered to go on his knees to the husband, father, or brother of his lady love, or that either mortgaged his house to raise hush-money! Neither was ever visited by a Moulton with pistol or dagger and called upon to "deliver!" Nor did their beloved ones fare worse than they, at the hands either of individuals or of the public. On the contrary, if we are to believe Mr. Thackeray, in one of his most pathetic moods, the ladies of Swift were regarded, and are to this day, as the "saints of English story." True, neither the Rev. Jonathan Swift, nor the Rev. Tobias Sterne, was accused of seducing the wife of his friend and parishioner. Moreover neither of these pretended to be a saint. That the author of Gulliver's Travels was no hypocrite our readers know, and that the author of Tristram Shandy put on no false airs, and affected no "prayerful tears," all his biographers bear testimony. Perhaps nothing we could relate of Sterne thus, in passing, would show how frank he was in this respect, better than the following characteristic anecdote. Shortly after Tristram was published the author asked a Yorkshire lady, of high rank and fortune, whether she had read his work. "I have not, Mr. Sterne," was the reply, "and to be plain with you, I am informed it is not proper for female perusal." "My dear, good lady," replied the author, "do not be gulled by such stories; the book is like your young heir there (pointing to a child of three years old, who was rolling on the carpet in his white tunics), he shows at times a good deal that is usually concealed, but it is all in perfect innocence!"

We trust it is needless for us to say that we have not adduced the above instances by way of justifying adultery, or denying that it is injurious to society. As well might it be said that we justify murder, and regard it only as a trivial offence, because we maintain that even the murderer should not be murdered in turn, but allowed a fair trial. The object of every law worthy of the name is to protect society in one relation or another, in its life or its property. In proportion as a people are enlightened they bear this fact in mind, and abstain from acting as judges and juries individually in their own cases.

If a man finds that his wife has been guilty of infidelity, he has a remedy without violence. He has suffered a great calamity; most men of spirit regard it as worse than any other. Such rarely condone the offence; at the same time, if they are really gentlemen, men of honor in the proper sense of the term, or men who respect the laws of their country, they will use no violence to either wife or paramour. If they cannot pardon the wife from some extenuating circumstances in her case, they will separate from her, and except they are forced to apply to the courts for this purpose, they will create no public uproar.

Some of those mentioned in the preceding pages have separated from their wives on account of their infidelities, but without creating any public scandal. This is true, for example, of the great Pompey, who divorced his wife, Mutia, on account of her intimacy with Cæsar; but that he married Cæsar's daughter afterwards, is sufficient evidence that he cherished no malice on that account toward the lady's paramour. Upon the other hand, the mighty Cæsar himself was "dishonored" by one of his wives, and he knew the fact; but he no more thought of a divorce in her case than did Kestner or the Baron Von Stein—perhaps we should rather say no more than did Marc Antony, Lucullus, or Cato, each of whom once found himself in the same unpleasant predicament.

But there is one feature in the Beecher-Tilton case which is certainly of a redeeming character. We entirely disagree with those who ridicule and condemn the commissioners of Plymouth Church, to whom Mr. Beecher committed his case, because they have refused to declare or admit his guilt, but have, on the contrary, declared him innocent. It should be remembered that it is but a spurious friendship that exhibits itself to us only when we are in prosperity, but which deserts us in our adversity, or which, when it finds us down, gives a hand in keeping us so. No one would be safe if there was not in human nature, with all its failings and shortcomings, more fidelity than this. There is no truer definition of friendship than is contained in the homely adage, "To my faults a little blind, and to my virtues very kind." If one is condemned by his own friends in whose regard for him he has confided, what may he expect from the cold world at large?

For the same reason, if the congregation of Plymouth Church merits condemnation, it is not because it has unanimously voted its pastor innocent in spite of all the multifarious evidence—much of it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to be set aside—adduced against him by his accusers. On the contrary, that unanimity bespeaks a generosity which is truly sublime. It shows that friendship is not merely a name; it shows, also, that man is grateful to those who devote themselves to his enlightenment and gratification, even though the enlightenment and gratification they afford be not, perhaps such as lead to heaven.

But while we honor, rather than condemn, the congregation of Plymouth Church for clinging to their pastor in the hour of adversity, and doing all in their power to shield him from the assaults of his enemies, we confess we cannot see how he can continue to ascend the pulpit and preach. By persisting in doing so he would do more injury to religion than if he openly assailed it like Voltaire and Tom Paine. Fortunately, it is not necessary for Mr. Beecher, himself, that he should continue to set the public opinion of the whole religious world, outside of Plymouth Church, at defiance by officiating as a minister of the Gospel—as a spiritual adviser, a teacher and champion of virtue, as well as religion.

It is as well to recognize the fact that his prayers, no matter how loud and long they may be, can no longer be edifying even to Plymouth Church. Some of those very men who were so enthusiastic and demonstrative in voting him innocent would laugh at his "let us pray." It would occur to them that a sort of prayer, out of place in a Christian pulpit, would be much more appropriate for him. We would not present such to our readers in the vernacular tongue, even as a satire; but using the drapery of a dead language, we close our remarks with the following, only asking the initiated whether it is not as much in accordance with truth and honesty as anything the great preacher can say just now as a divine:

AD VENEREM.

Hanc amo, quæ me odit: contra, hanc, quoniam me amat, odi.
***Compone inter nos, si potes,* alma Venus.**
Perfacile id faciam; *mores mutabo, et amores.*

ART. VII. — 1. *The Physiological Influence of Light* FORBES WINSLOW, M. D., D. C. L.

2. *Notes on Hospitals.* FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

WE SUPPOSE man must be regarded as a sagacious animal of the prehensile sort. Like the ants and squirrels, he takes thought for the morrow in many ways, seizing every opportunity to supply his various wants despite the unequivocal injunction of the holy Man of Nazareth, whom he professes to pattern after and to obey. And while we find no fault with him for exercising an animal instinct of this kind, since he is manifestly the chief of animals, we cannot wholly excuse his neglect to mix a little more reason with that tendency, since he is also the lord of creation.

The human animal, like the prehensile order to which he belongs, anticipates and provides for every contingency but that of the just requirements of sickness and health. He stores his larder with food and drink, brews ale and whiskey, fills his barns with provender, builds spacious edifices for his habitation, provides charity for the indigent (instead of opportunity), jails and prisons for the wicked and lawless, etc. Nor is this all. Not only does he provide the wherewith to be comfortably fed, housed, clothed and adorned, but he also provides conveniences for the safekeeping of all his goods and treasures; safes, and safe-deposits for his bonds and bank-account; schools and churches for purposes of education and religion; art for culture and amusement; government for the welfare and stability of society; law for the conservation of the social state and the requirements of civilization, etc. In this general summary of acts of prevision must also be included those that relate to the final disposition of his body and soul—to his temporal and spiritual future. He lays up treasures in heaven to await his coming; he prepares for death; makes wills and devises; buys a lot in the village cemetery for prospective occupation; builds a tomb to hold his bones when he shall have no further use for them, etc. Now, this is all very wise and prudent in him, so far as it goes. But it is inadequate for the occasion. There is no wise provision for sickness. Except the family doctor, often a poor one at that—a mere lethean companion to the grave—there is no intelligent provision in the household for his proper care and treatment when ill and infirm, and for those of his household, though he knows both are as sure to come in the order of events as his tailor's bill, foul air, or family broils.

Now this is an obvious oversight in any well-regulated household. An apartment adapted to the care and convenience of the sick is as important a desideratum in the household as one for eating or sleeping, and vastly more important than an apartment for billiards or croquet; andyet it is the one least thought of and most lightly regarded. There is no estimating the benefit that would come to the family through a wisely appointed and apportioned chamber for the sick. Its advantages would be incalculable. The hours of pain and suffering it would save; the precious time it would preserve; the money it would economize; the discomforts it would remove; the mists and shadows it would dispel; the depression and gloom it would dissipate; the minds it would compose, cheer and enliven; and perhaps, what is of more consequence still, the days it would prolong to poor, sinful mortals, to whom death is a terror of unutterable horror, may be mentioned among its blessings. Surely, these are no small advantages, and not unworthy the serious consideration of him who takes high rank among God's foresighted creatures.

The ancient Romans built *Solaria*, or solar air-baths, on their house-tops, where their children could play, in a state of nature, and be daily baptized with solar showers pure and fresh from the eternal sun. In this respect they were wiser in their day and generation than their descendants in the nineteenth century; for the latter have not yet risen to this grand comprehension of the uses of solar light in the animal economy; or, if they have, their ideas are of a theoretical sort, which fail of appreciation by the practical minds of the day in the architectural appointments of the modern household.

Is not this a grave defect of our civilization? However beautiful and convenient our dwellings may be in other particulars, in respect to arrangements for sunlight, pure air and water, the plainest dictates of good sense and sanitary science are disregarded.

The occupants of the modern house are shut out from those health and life giving influences, which must come to them, if at all, in the solar ray and the balmy air. The consequence of this solar isolation is physical deterioration and disease. The strongest of our women soon became etiolated and infirm; the feeble decline into chronic invalidism; the sick linger beyond their natural time of convalescence, if, indeed, they do not die; a simple malady becomes a complicated one; and what was a trifle in the beginning runs into a serious disorder and brings in its train pains and perils without end.

Thus the demands of both sick and well require the radical reconstruction of the household; the well, to keep them so; the sick, in order to get well. How often we find men, half sick, resisting the advice of the doctor and their own inclinations to stay home and be nursed, for the reason say they, that if they do they will surely be ill; and once in bed they will never get out again. "Oh, I should die confined in-doors!" says one. There is much practical sense and shrewd foresight in their determination, for they feel their vital dependence on out-door influences, and the perils of an in-door atmosphere. But the case would be far different if they had properly solarized homes—homes utilizing the hygienic influences of the heavens—to go to. They are worn and weary with the business cares of life, perhaps, and urgently need the rest and rejuvenation which under their abnormal surroundings of home life they dare not take, indeed, cannot get. Thus they struggle on under fresh resolution and stimulus, until they recover, or sink into complete exhaustion and, possibly, irreparable disease.

An indispensable complement, therefore, of a properly appointed dwelling is an apartment for sick folk—a room which we will call a sanitarium; an apartment constructed with special reference to the wants of the sick, and in such a way as to furnish the necessary adjuvants of health and convalescence.

There is no need of a long argument in support of this proposition, for the experience of managers of hospitals, asylums and the sanitary departments of the boards of health of our cities have long since placed the subject beyond the pale of rational controversy. Recoveries from disease through the influence of light are numerous—and might be still more numerous—that had long resisted the most approved agencies of the medical art. The Sanitarium will utilize in the most efficient manner this great influence. All nature loves light better than darkness. Who has not observed the corroboration of instinct in this particular? The vine confined in the dark grows in the direction of the light; the flowers, when isolated from the rays of the sun, bend their petals in unnatural positions toward the light. The sick likewise turn their faces instinctively to the light, even though it pain their eyes.* The lower animals seek the light and avoid darkness. The products of shade, moreover, are blanched and bloodless; those of sunshine are deep-colored and vigorous; the blood of the one is weak and watery; that of the other is rich in iron and vitality. Creatures confined in darkness are stunted, lifeless and diseased; those exposed to sunlight are well-formed, active and healthy. The higher the organization, the more intimate is its dependence upon light. Some of the lower animals mature in a minimum of light; man requires a maximum of it for his growth and development. In illustration of this truth compare the inhabitants of narrow, sunless streets and low, filthy tenements, with those of the free air and sunny homes on the broad avenues in our large cities. Compare the rates of mortality of the two classes.

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* Miss Florence Nightingale says that, "It is a curious thing to observe how almost all patients lie with their faces turned to the light, exactly as plants always make their way towards the light; a patient will even complain that it gives him pain lying on that side.' 'Then why *do* you lie on that side?' He does not know—but we do. It is because it is the side towards the window."—*Notes on Nursing*, p. 87.

The contrast is remarkable, but not at all surprising. A similar result is exhibited in the mortality of the sick who occupy shaded rooms, as compared with that of those who occupy rooms with a sunny exposure. In the hospitals of St. Petersburg, Sir James Wyley found that the proportion of recoveries was as four to one in favor of the latter. The fact was so remarkable that it led to a complete revolution in hospital architecture in the Czar's dominions; the improvements being such as to afford all the sick and wounded the advantage of rooms with a sunny exposure.*

These are the reasons which lead us to advise the construction of a Sanitarium in the household. The idea is a natural outcome of the light of civilization. The requirements of the sick and the welfare of the household are its justification. Unless the idea is embodied in the appointments of our homes, our infirm will have to seek a safer retreat in the modern hospital, where the natural agencies of convalescence are utilized for the special benefit of the invalid.

Let us, then, examine this want of the household more in detail. In the first place, the Sanitarium should have a thorough sunny exposure. Let it be a southern extension of spacious proportions, and high enough above the ground to be unobstructed by the shade of adjacent shrubs or trees.

It should have spacious windows, properly curtained, for the entrance and exclusion of sunlight. The ceiling should be high, and, if practicable, dome-like, and transparent, so that no kindly influence from the heavens shall be barred an entrance. The walls should be constructed of some porous material made durable, or some durable material made porous, which, like plaster of Paris, would admit free ingress and egress of atmospheric air through its interstices; thus securing what builders and architects have long been striving for, but have never yet been able to obtain, the perfection of ventilation. The floor of the apartment should be girdled with iron pipes for the introduction of heat in cold weather. And, as an auxiliary to ventilation, a miniature fountain of running water might be easily introduced into the room. This would secure proper moisture to the air, and serve also to absorb and carry away all undue accumulations of that deadly bane of the household and sick-room, carbonic acid gas. In the pleasantest part of this spacious apartment place the couch for the patient—a cozy framework of iron, with mattress of wire, and pillows of air, all of them arranged for comfort, and with as much taste and luxury as linen and wool and ornamental work could make it. The bed, would, therefore, be airy and light, and its clothing easily changed and ventilated; thus preventing many sources of impurity and disease which now afflict the sick-chamber. The floor of this health apartment should be of wood—ornamental if desired—but no foul device of dust-and-dirt-catching tapestry should cover its nakedness. The furniture should be selected with strict regard for health, elegance and convenience. It could not be upholstered, of course; for upholstered articles soon become filled with all manner of dust and organic débris, and while they may add an appearance of elegance and luxury, their comfort is a sham, their convenience of doubtful quality; and the dust and infusoria with which they impregnate the air forbid the idea of their being health-promoting. Such articles of household furniture are an unfailing source of evil in the air, and of disease in the lungs, blood and brain; and if they are tolerated in the sick-chamber at all, let it be in the homes of those who can afford to be sick, or of those who prefer chronic invalidism to manly vigor and good health—if such there be.

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* Apropos of the influence of light upon disease, it is related that a lady was brought to the distinguished physician Dupuytren, suffering a complication of maladies that had long resisted the efforts of many physicians. Dupuytren, feeling certain that the resources of medicine had been exhausted upon the case, directed that the lady should change her dark rooms in a shaded street for those that were sunny in a sunny part of the city (Paris). She was also to be taken out in the sunshine a great deal. The result was soon manifest by her speedy and permanent cure. We mention it as an example of a very common experience in the practice of observant physicians.

These arrangements may be regarded as extravagant—perhaps Utopian. Yes, they are amenable to this charge, it is true. But then the occasion calls for a little extravagance. The outlay required for the purpose, however, would not be a tenth of that of a herbarium, or an aviarium, or a modern conservatory for flowers, which frequently accompanies the modern house. The annual saving of doctor's bills would alone more than suffice to recompense the outlay, and to keep the Sanitarium in running order. Besides, it could be used as a Solaria for children, when not required for the occupation of the sick. But if it *were* an expense, the physical and moral advantages derived from it would more than compensate for the cost incurred.

The Sanitarium, however, is not yet complete. Arrangements have, indeed, been suggested to secure abundance of pure, genial air, and the vitalizing, health-giving forces of the solar beam. But these advantages are not sufficient to meet all the wants of sentient invalids. There are moral influences which are only second in importance to the physical. While we cannot pretend to exhaust the list of these, since they comprehend an infinity of subtle agencies, we will briefly indicate a few of such as are more closely identified with the proper appointments of any sick-room.

And, in the first place, the moral influence of an apartment, such as we have briefly described, is by no means inconsiderable. The pure, sweet air; the cheerful sunlight; the spacious walls; the high ceiling, produce a beneficent effect upon the mind, and contribute largely to sustain the spirit, preserve the balance of the bodily functions, and promote convalescence. The moral effect of these environments on the invalid is wonderful! They are all effective remedies. The mind of the invalid through their influence is withdrawn from self and selfish contemplations; the higher faculties are awakened into wholesome activity; the lower and more immediately vital, soothed and comforted; and nature carries forward her works of repair and conservation undisturbed by that most meddlesome of all meddlesome agents, the human will.

It is difficult to over-estimate the value of these moral surroundings in the sick-room. He who disregards them in any class of diseases and deals exclusively with the clear logic of cold reason, is never a successful physician, though he may be a learned doctor or a skilful surgeon. Reason in the sick-room! The idea of such an absurdity is enough to bring a smile to the face of any genuine medical man! Reason in the company of fashionable women! reason in love, hate, or matrimony! reason with a woman's prejudices, or a man's appetite! reason in belief! reason in the nursery! reason under any of these circumstances would be no less out of place than reason in the sick-room. Reason is well enough in its way. But let its exercise be confined to healthy folk of the stronger sort—and not then unless it is genuine!

Moreover, pictures and works of art are important accompaniments of a sick-room. If their influence be purely moral, it is none the less potent in convalescence. If they are essential to mental poise in the will, they are equally so in the sick. We believe their presence would do much to restrict the abnormal tendency to dose which has become a chronic habit with so many good people. They give the mind an elevating tendency; they inspire pure thoughts, and ennoble the instincts. Surely, such influences are as curative in ague, or rheumatism, as colchicum or cholagogue, and instead of confining the sphere of their operation to the drawing-room or study, it should be extended to the abodes of the sick and suffering, It is a short sight that fails to appreciate the just value of moral agencies in the cure of disease, and that dooms the human, when ill, to the exclusive operation of those agents which are equally applicable to the treatment of the diseases of a beast.

The influence of flowers, is, also, of value in the sick-room and to the sick. Flowers appeal to the æsthetic sense, and quicken faculties and emotions which would otherwise be dormant and inoperative upon the spirit. If

"A thing of beauty is a joy forever,"

it is impossible to define the limit of the influence of these beautiful productions of the floral kingdom upon man, either in health or disease. No one, who has not been ill much, and shut up within the narrow confines of the four walls of a small bedroom, can have any idea of the effect of a bouquet upon the emotions! It unfolds a new world of delightful sensations. The weary powers are refreshed by them; the despondent spirit cheered and encouraged; new hopes, new joys, new and better thoughts are awakened in the mind; and all nature and God seem nearer and lovelier through the influence of the flowers. Moreover, every tint has its characteristic effect upon the mental powers. The red tint stimulates; the violet soothes and comforts; the blue depresses; the white elevates and refines, etc. These effects of flowers are very peculiar; and while we are not able to penetrate the secret of them, we are forced to recognize their potential quality upon the nervous powers.

There are other influences exerted by flowers, however, of a more material if not of a more palpable kind, which make their presence in the sick-room of peculiar interest. They disinfect and purify the air. The action of their perfumes upon the atmosphere is to manufacture ozone, an agent allied to, but more active than, oxygen in destroying the noisome elements of organic life. The narcissus, heliotrope, lemon-tree, verbena, etc., are endowed with special virtues in this direction. Indeed, the appointments of the nursery, or Sanitarium, cannot be regarded complete without the presence of some of these beautiful flowers and flowering shrubs to sweeten the air and enliven the moral environments. But plants exhale a poisonous gas at night? Yes, they do, we suppose. And what of it? Do we ever find virtue without alloy? Sweet without bitter? Pleasures without pain? The purest pleasures have their pangs. The solar ray sometimes destroys. The dews of heaven distil poison. The wind that kisses the fields and foliage, and renews nature's life blood, wafts pestilence in its round. The flower, while breathing perfume and imparting the divinest effluence to the air, leaves also, in its hours of repose, an infinitesimal portion of carbonic acid—a little bitter with so much sweet! It is ungrateful to mention it, the compensations are so largely in excess. Let us rejoice, then, in those beneficent offsprings of light, the beautiful flowers, and make offerings of them to the living, as well as to the dead.

Finally, we trust these suggestions for the sick and the comforts of home may not be regarded as altogether Utopian or impracticable. The interest which man has in life, in its best estate, adjures him to give the subject his serious attention. It is idle to talk about the expense involved. Restrain the indulgence of some of the pet appetites. Abjure tobacco smoking, and ale and whiskey drinking. Curtail the tailor's account, and (with the wife's consent) the milliner's and dressmaker's bills. Buy less silk, velvet, and other foreign fabrics of expensive quality. Empty the parlors—those useless, show room appendages of the modern house—of their idle and senseless objects of adornment. Keep one or two horses, or none, instead of three, four or six; and one or two carriages, instead of half a dozen. The savings from these retrenchments would support the most wholesome and luxurious Sanitarium for children, the sick and the convalescent, that science and art could suggest, or that man could construct.

ART. VIII.—*Catalogues and Circulars of Schools, Academies, Colleges, Universities, etc., passim.*

IF the pile of these documents now on our table were torn into leaves it would cover an amount of space which, if stated in round numbers, would seem fabulous. But, of the whole number, not more than ten per cent. have been sent us by their compilers or owners. Most of the remainder have been furnished to us by parents and guardians who claim that they have been cheated; and not a few have come from former pupils of the institutions which those documents represent.

Thus, the large majority are accompanied with requests that they be criticised; and it must be admitted that in a great many instances, if not in all, good reasons are assigned for those requests.

It will be easy to understand, then, that were we to devote this whole paper—let its length be what it may—to criticisms, there would still be many catalogues which we could not even mention. We have no such intention, however. This time, except in one or two instances, we prescribe for ourselves the much more agreeable task of indicating the merits of some of those institutions which, in our opinion, are really meritorious. But inasmuch as the terms "good," "excellent," "first-class," etc., are but relative, it becomes necessary to institute comparisons. At least, this is our view; and we beg the reader to bear in mind that in no case do we assume anything more than to give our opinion.

It never has been disputed by intelligent, impartial men, that educational institutions are legitimate subjects of criticism. It has been justly held that those teachers of worldly knowledge whose teaching cannot bear criticism are not the right class. Even in those countries and ages in which thought has been most fettered this principle has been recognized, except in those instances in which the despotic ruling power has hedged in its pet institution with pains and penalties. Nor have the "pains and penalties" always proved a sufficient shield against criticism for false pretences. We might easily illustrate this by examples, but it is needless; sufficient will suggest themselves to our readers.

In all countries in which the press enjoys any real freedom, editors are regarded as public instructors; and so it must be admitted they are. Editors, in general, are not expected to be so learned as professors in academies, colleges, and universities; nor do they claim anything of the kind. Yet, what editor pretends that the journal he conducts is so sacred a thing that it should be exempt from criticism? Who does not regard himself as having a perfect right to expose the ignorance of an editor? Need we say that the editor who would deny this right—even though he should not whine, groan, or try to move heaven and earth against his critic—would only render himself ridiculous? Yet a head-master, president, chancellor, or provost, who pretends that his institution gives thorough instruction in every branch of human knowledge, will scold, abuse, and threaten, like a wash-woman defrauded of her bill, if his manifest ignorance, vulgarity, and imposture are only hinted at.

True, there is nothing new in all this; nothing peculiar to our country or age. Our quack educators are no worse than our quack doctors, or a score of other tribes of charlatans we could mention—most of which, indeed, we have fully portrayed from time to time in these pages.

It is in no egotistic spirit that we ask the reader to bear in mind that no public writer ever gave his opinions freely of his contemporaries who was not accused of the vilest motives for doing so. Not one of this class who, if we are to believe those whom he "attacked," was not a "blackmailer" of the deepest die. Thus, for example, it is only necessary to read Aristophanes' "Clouds" in order to see what a shameful "blackmailer" Socrates was! If this is not convincing let the curious reader turn to the testimony of Eupolis.* Every intelligent student of the classics knows what a horrible "blackmailer" Lucian was! Still worse, if possible, was Juvenal. Even Horace, who pretends to be so genial, "blackmailed" at least a score of honest and honorable people! He had the baseness, while thus blackmailing, to praise Mæcenas and others, not because they deserved praise or anything of the kind, but because they were friendly and kind to himself! Voltaire was a notorious "blackmailer." It was because the Catholic Church refused to give him patronage that he assailed it as he did! His numerous personal "attacks" on the Jesuits were made because the good Fathers of his time were close-fisted and mean in matters pecuniary. The similar sins of Bayle had their origin in the same "blackmailing" propensity. What a reprobate "blackmailer" Michael Angelo was when he placed his eminence the Cardinal in hell, because he would not pay him his price for his picture, so that even Leo X. could not redeem him. Has not the world been informed in a hundred biographies that Luther was a most incorrigible "blackmailer?" What cared he for the sale of indulgences, we are told, if he only got a part of the proceeds himself! As for Swift, that of "blackmailing" is one of the mildest of the charges made against him by such of his innocent victims as Mr. Wood, "the bad half-penny man," who, like Goliath, was "all over brass!"

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* *Schol. ad Nub.*, 180.

But not one of these "blackmailers" was accused even by his enemies of pretending to teach others what he was ignorant of himself, and thus obtaining money under false pretences. Not one of them is accused of being an impostor or a charlatan. In no biography that we have ever seen of any of them is the subject represented as a coward, who, because trembling with fear at the slightest danger of having his ignorance, incapacity, and false pretences exposed, imagines he can frighten others by braying threats, somewhat after the fashion of the degenerate Druids of Wales, who fancied they could drive off the Roman legions by making hideous outcries and uproar. We are reminded particularly of the Druids at this point, because, curiously enough, none have tried so hard to frighten us by foolish threats as two or three persons who call themselves ministers of the Gospel.

Here we beg leave to introduce a little episode which most of our readers will regard as somewhat curious. It would seem incredible to many that a person who pretends to combine the functions of a minister of the Gospel and head-master of an Academy would deliberately write anybody an abusive, threatening letter, calling him names like a pot-house lackey. Yet not more than a week ago we were the recipient of just such a clerical, educational epistle, and one extending to six closely-written pages, in which we are informed that if we "attempt to stigmatize this institution,"—that is, if we attempt to criticise his work as an educator—we shall rue the day—if, indeed, we survive the castigation that awaits us! Although the threatening letters we have received in our time, from just such persons as he has proved himself to be, would form quite a large heap, no other such missive has astonished us so much as this. Not that we could have expected anything very creditable from its author, after we had learned from himself what he is.

But in order that this may be understood it is necessary to mention a few facts. Some six months ago we received a letter from "Rev. Francis D. Blakeslee, A. B., Principal and Professor of Moral and Mental Science," and headed in imposing, fancy capitals, "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University," accompanied with quite a quantity of printed documents—eulogies, testimonials, &c. The avowed object of this communication was to inquire what would be the cost of a page for the insertion of the prospectus of his institution. As soon as convenient we gave the information which we supposed was required, adding that we are not disposed to be exact as to rates with educational institutions.

Be it remembered that we had never heard either of Mr. Blakeslee or his Academy before; nor had we been aware that there was such an institution as "Boston University" in existence. But our readers know how highly we think, not only of the educational institutions of Boston, but of those of Massachusetts in general. Accordingly we concluded at once that Boston University must be something good, and prompted by this view we resolved to stop at East Greenwich on our next trip to Boston. This we did at the beginning of May last. We were quite pleased with the grounds of the Academy; also with the buildings; our only fault of the latter being that they seemed to us to suggest a deplorable scarcity of water, brooms, shovels, soap, etc. This at least, thought we, is not Athenian, for of all the educational institutions we had visited there were none like it in this respect, with the sole exception—(as the truth in such cases should be told)—of Amenia Seminary. But there is an excuse for the latter, situated as it is almost in the midst of a low quagmire, so that it really reminded us of the Egyptian locust plague described by Moses; for as the locusts would climb up on the tables, and into the beds, crawl over people's faces, hands, feet, etc., so did the dirt seem to us to make its slimy way, everywhere, at Amenia.* At East Greenwich the strata of alluvial or organic matter were not so thick, but they were far too thick to be Athenian, or anything else that is agreeable, or that makes the least approach to godliness!

Our first impression on seeing the head-master was that he is neither a man nor a boy. His age does not seem more than about twenty-five, but he really struck us as much more like a Chatham street Jew in his style of dress, as well as in his physiognomy and manners, than like a clergyman of any church. The good-natured reader will think we merely indulge in a joke—a malicious joke, perhaps—when we say that the moment we heard the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee lift up his voice and pray—for we were just in time for morning service—he reminded us of —— Charlemagne. We think we hear already the exclamation, pshaw! How could that be? But hold! In Charlemagne's time some of the clergy regarded it as an impious thing to make any use of such profane works as those of Virgil and Cicero. In order that their ears should be no longer offended with the language of Paganism, the good Abbé de Saint-Mihiel gave orders that in future all quotations used to embellish writings or orations should be taken from the works of the saints. The effect of this may be easily imagined; it was such that Charlemagne deemed it necessary to issue a circular letter to the bishops and abbés of Gaul to counteract it. In this curious document the following remarks occur: "In order to please God," says the Emperor, "we should lead a blameless life; but there is another way of pleasing Him, namely, *speaking correctly.* Can one, *without outraging Him*, chant His praises in a discourse *plastered over (herissé) with solecisms and barbarisms?*" *

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* Nor is this the only point in which there is a certain similarity between the two institutions. We shall never forget a little incident which occurred during our visit to Amenia last May. Among the recitations which we were allowed the privilege of hearing was one of the "mixed class" on botany. While this was progressing, though in rather a lame sort of a way, the head-master informed us that he did not understand botany himself, but that he *knew enough of it to teach it!* The first part of the statement was sufficiently evident; the second part rather puzzled us for a moment; but, nevertheless, we assented. We were favored with several similar educational precepts by the head-master of East Greenwich; precepts which were certainly new to us, although we have travelled a good deal, and visited a pretty large number of educational institutions both in Europe and America.

This is all the way in which we can account for having been so forcibly reminded of Charlemagne by Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, or rather by the prayer of that divine.

But, service being over, his attentions to us became overwhelming at once; indeed, they were so to a degree that excited our suspicion at a very early stage of our acquaintance. He brought us up and down, hither and thither, until we had to beg to be excused. We were present at two recitations, but they were more unlike any of the recitations we had heard in Boston than the East Greenwich strata alluded to are unlike any Boston strata in school or academy buildings. We were asked, rather hesitatingly, to propose some questions, but having no wish to make the recitation scene anything more confused or ludicrous than it was, we respectfully declined.

We certainly indulge in no exaggeration, but state the simple truth, when we say that we have heard vastly better recitations at the Boston common schools. More than once we have spent hours at the Gardner High School, listening to recitations in Latin, and we can truly affirm that those of the third or fourth class were better than those of the first class of "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." As for the recitations of such Boston schools as the Gannett Institute, it would be a great injustice—almost an insult—to the young ladies of the latter to compare them with the East Greenwich recitations in any other way than to have the primary classes in the former institution recite side by side with the senior classes in the latter. We could say the same of several other female schools we have visited much nearer home as we have of the Gannett Institute, in comparison with "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University"—of Mlle. Rostan's School, in this city, for example; of Poughkeepsie Female Academy; of the Chegaray Institute, Philadelphia; of Mlle. Tardivel's School, New York, etc.

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* *Vide* Dom Bouquet's *Historiens de la France*, t. v., p. 621.

East Greenwich Academy is what in vulgar parlance is called "a mixed school"—that is, it admits both sexes as students; but we no more mention this as a reproach than we do the youth of the head-master. Our readers know what our views are of mixed schools, like Fort Edward Institute and Pennington Seminary; but we beg the pardon of the Rev. Dr. King and Prof. Dilks for speaking of their institutions in the same paragraph with "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." We have really seen no more striking contrast anywhere than the latter presents to either of the former in the matter of order and decorum in the relations of the male and female students to each other. We begged leave to ask the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee whether he did not think there was some danger in the "free and easy" plan of his institution. By this we do not mean to insinuate that we saw any impropriety further than that the male and female students sat beside each other, in pairs, at table and elsewhere, and seemed to admire each other's conversation and *eyes* very much! The head-master assured us that was all right, and in proof of the fact he proceeded to inform us that it was at a "mixed college" he got his wife. He told us what college it was, but all we remember in this regard is that it was a Western institution of which we had never heard before. We confess it struck us at the moment that, for more than one reason, it must indeed be a "mixed" affair!

Before we were favored with the enlightened views of the head-master, or had an opportunity of hearing any of the recitations, it occurred to us as somewhat strange that, while the location is certainly a beautiful one, and the terms are the lowest we know, at least half the seats are empty—perhaps two-thirds. We took the liberty of expressing some wonder why the intelligent people of New England are not more appreciative than this, but the explanation we received was, that the former head-masters had sundry faults; but with the "views" and the "recitations" in our mind, we could no longer wonder that the supply of seats and desks was greatly in excess of the demand at "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University;" and so far as the cheapness was concerned, it reminded us of the cheapness of a Bowery nether garment as compared to a Broadway one.

Although we had left our valise at the hotel and ordered dinner there, we easily enough allowed ourselves to be persuaded to dine with the male and female students, professors, head-master, head-mistress, etc., etc. We find no fault whatever with the dinner. All we claim in this respect is that students, like other young people, should be allowed sufficient wholesome food; and that allowance was given on the present occasion. That the fish and accessaries could not have cost the institution more than about fifteen cents a head, all told, is no reflection on the dinner. We refer to it at all, rather "fishy" as it was, only to give our readers a sample of the elegant manners (*vide* Catalogue) which are characteristic of "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." We have only room to remark in this hurried sketch, that on our right at table sat an overgrown youth of about eighteen. Whenever this gentleman wanted a fresh supply he would give us a sort of push on the shoulder or arm, saying, "Pass the butter!" "Want some bread!" or "Shove along that plate!" as the case might be. We certainly do not mention this because we felt annoyed. Far from having any such feeling, we were never more amused in our life; nor did we ever obey any injunctions more cheerfully than we did those of our rustic friend on our right.

But we were not long in the company of "the Rev. Francis D. Blakeslee, Principal and Professor of *Moral and Mental Science*," when we saw plainly enough what he wanted from us. We cannot say, however, but his conversation and general educational plan suggested to us some thoughts at once classic and useful. Thus, for instance, his first great display of friendship reminded us, rather forcibly, of the precept of Juvenal:

"*Fronti* nulla fides." *

Further on in our acquaintance old Sallust came to our aid, with the hint, "*Aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in linguâ promptum habere*;" and so all the fair speeches and fine promises of our pretended patron availed him nothing in our case.

Now, will the reader please to bear in mind, that notwithstanding all we had seen and heard, notwithstanding how we had been trifled with, and put to trouble under pretence of giving us patronage, we did not as much as allude to East Greenwich Academy, or its head-master, in our next number, which was not issued for seven weeks after our visit to that institution. We thus passed the whole affair over in silence, partly because we did not think the head-master and his Academy worth the trouble of a criticism, and partly because, although we knew nothing of Boston University, we took it for granted that it must have some gentlemen connected with it, who would not sanction any such conduct as that of Mr. Blakeslee, and whom, therefore, we should not like to offend on account of it. All we did then was to write a private note to Blakeslee, telling him that the course he had pursued toward us was unworthy of an educator, and still more unworthy of a minister of the Gospel; and that he ought not pursue such again, however general may be the belief, among a certain class, that it is but the duty of editors to write eulogies, even on the merest nonentities, who happen to be thrust into positions for which they have not the smallest qualification.

In return for a little wholesome advice, given really in no unfriendly spirit, and evidently much needed, he foolishly tries to frighten us by threats, dreading, because conscious of his guilt, that we would unmask him, although, for the reasons already mentioned, we had no such intention. We defy him to show anything that would imply we had. In order that his threats may have the more force, he informs us that he "has consulted some of the best *and strongest men* of the M. E. Church," and that those "best and strongest men" have authorized him to say, &c. The terrible calamity we are to await, if we "attempt to stigmatize" East Greenwich Academy of Boston University, is a general onslaught on us by the newspapers! These righteous vindicators of injured innocence and worth, when duly inspired by "the best and strongest men of the M. E. Church," will extinguish us! We ought to tremble, perhaps, but we try to adopt the precept "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

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* Sat., ii., 8.

And we are just as little angry as we are afraid. In proof of this we will mention to the Rev. "Professor of Moral and Mental Science" some worthy persons, who will not only sympathize with him heartily in his laudable enterprise for the extermination of the National Quarterly, but also give contributions for "a consummation so devoutly to be wished." Let him first apply to the most notorious of the quack doctors and manufacturers of infallible drugs; then to the presidents, vice-presidents, &c., of quack insurance companies, dead and moribund. There are few of these who will not subscribe, if they are not prevented by the "hard times." The publishers of a certain class of books will also lend a hand; so, perhaps, will some of their hired puffers and "popular authors." The Hon. Peter Bismarck Sweeny, formerly head naturalist of the Central Park, and "Brains" of the Tammany Ring, would be sure to contribute handsomely if he could only be found; so would the Hon. William Tweed, of Blackwell's Island Castle, &c. The Hon. Oakey Hall could tell from actual experience how much one gains by attacking the National Quarterly, in the newspapers, in vindication of his worthy colleagues, and showing that that journal is actuated only by "spite and malice," those colleagues being, as everybody knows, "high-minded, honest, and honorable men!"

If the reverend "professor of moral and mental science" prefers the aid and sympathy of his own tribe, then we would refer him at once to the learned Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. There is scarcely one of the whole faculty of that renowned institution who would not contribute more or less in money or hard names. As for head-masters of institutes, seminaries, etc., on the Delaware, and the Sound, as well as on the Hudson—that is, head-masters of the Blakeslee stamp—all would be only too glad to contribute to so righteous a purpose. In the mean time, we humbly think it might be well to send the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, A. B., to some one of the several colleges constituting "Boston University,"—to "the College of Liberal Arts," for instance, "the College of Music," "the School of *All* Sciences," or "the School of Medicine." We are assured that the Violin professor in the College of Music exercises considerable influence on "moral and mental science." Professors in the other colleges are also said to have great power in this direction; but, if we are not much mistaken, the treatment which would be most appropriate in the present case would be that of Dr. Mary Safford Blake, clinical lecturer on *Diseases of Women.*

Doubtless, many of our readers have come to the conclusion that our relations with the heads of educational institutions must form a bed of thorns for ourselves, instead of a bed of roses. It is not so, however. We can say without fear of contradiction that no educator worthy of the name has ever treated us otherwise than courteously and kindly—nay more, there is not one of our first-class educators to whom we are not indebted for kindness in one form or another. The same mail—or a few mails earlier or later—that brought us the abusive, threatening letter of the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, brought us very different communications from several educators of a very high reputation for learning, ability, and success. In proof of this we beg leave to do what we never did before—that is, we give two or three extracts from some of these letters. This liberty we certainly should not take, however, did we not sincerely believe that the letters alluded to do credit to their writers. Thus, the first we happen to take up is one from the Rev. Dr. D. A. Holbrook, Principal of the Holbrook Military School, Sing Sing, N. Y., dated August 25, 1874, and which reads as follows:

"DEAR SIR: About two weeks ago I was in 'the City,' and one of my objects was to call upon you for the purpose of inserting an advertisement. I would be glad to know the cost of a half page for one year with inclosed advertisement.

"I should like also to subscribe for the Quarterly. If you will send me, or let your bookkeeper, a statement of the two items, I will remit check."

We replied thankfully, just in the same spirit as we did to the reverend person who now abuses and threatens us. But, unlike that person, the Rev. Dr. Holbrook writes back as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I accept your kind offer, for half a page, at $200 per year."

In the same letter Dr. Holbrook says:

"Either you, or your representative, will be welcome at any or all times to visit my school. I try to do my best always, but I feel so far short of my own ideals that I am sure you will never see more defects than I do.

"Of course I have read your articles. Who has not? So far as I have any knowledge, they are very just. I *know* Mr. Allen's school here and Mr. Bisbee's at Poughkeepsie are excellent schools. One which you criticise I know, from pupils who have come to me from there, to be justly criticised."*

Here is an educator who, instead of running down his chief rivals, pays a generous tribute to each; he does so because he is a true educator. Did he belong to the sham tribe whom we have criticised, he could not afford a good word, even through "fellow-feeling," for any of his brethren; and the best educators are those whom this class would most vehemently disparage.

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* We have several letters from parents and guardians bearing similar testimony, and thanking us warmly and gratefully for our criticisms. But having no spite or malice even against those we have most severely denounced—no wish to injure them further than to perform our duty—we will publish none of those letters against them, except we see new public reasons for doing so, although letters have been kindly shown us which some of the parties alluded to have sent about falsely and basely villifying us! The publication of some of these letters would disgrace and injure their writers far more than the worst criticisms we have made upon them.

The next letter that comes to our hand is from the Rev. Dr. Joseph Cummings, President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., a gentleman who has an enviable reputation as an educator, in Europe, as well as throughout our own country. This letter is dated August 17, 1874, and commences thus:

> "Dear Sir: I thank you for your letter. Please excuse the delay in answering it, which has been caused by my absence. I shall send you a notice of our institution for insertion in the advertising department of your excellent Review. We ought to have attended to this earlier.
>
> "Our next college year will begin September 10. We shall be greatly pleased to receive you here whenever it may suit your convenience to call."

Neither this letter, nor its author, nor the institution over which the latter presides, has any need of our approbation. The Rev. Dr. Cummings, be it remembered, belongs to the Methodist Church, too; but he is evidently not one of "the strongest" Methodists who advised the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee to abuse and threaten us!*

But other New England educators write about the same

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* We have already had some slight experience of those who, at least, call themselves "the best and strongest men of the M.E. Church." This is true, for example, of that pious and learned divine who so ably presides over Pittsburg Female College. We have never seen either the Rev. I. C. Pershing, D. D., or his College; but this time twelvemonth, while confined to our bed, he wrote us a most flattering letter, informing us how much "delighted" he was with our Review; how he wished to insert his prospectus in it, etc. This letter was accompanied with "testimonials" and various other documents, all of which maintained stoutly that Pittsburg Female College is one of the greatest seats of learning to be found anywhere!

The Rev. Dr. Pershing, also, has a College of Music. At his institution "diplomas are conferred in Music and Painting," as well as in several other sciences and arts. When all this was shown to us on our bed, together with an invitation to dine with the reverend President of the College, whenever we happened to be in Pittsburg! we thought we time, and in a similar spirit of courtesy and friendship. This is true, for example, of Prof. Charles Dole, of Norwich University; a Military College, established in 1834, and which, as its Catalogue truly says, "by its extraordinary contribution of educated officers during the war, has earned a title to the generous confidence of the public." Instead of abuse or threats, Prof. Dole, like the Rev. Dr. Cummings, honors us by the insertion of his prospectus in our advertising pages.

Dr. Elliot, President of Harvard College, favored us with a letter the same week, and although he did not send his prospectus this time, he sent us courteous and agreeable words—no threats. The same is true, in every particular, of the Rev. Dr. Crosby, Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, who also, confessedly occupies the first rank as an educator. The accomplished and faithful President of Manhattan College not only wrote kindly the same week we were abused and threatened by Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, but did us the honor of calling on us in person, exactly as the venerable Chancellor Ferris was in the habit of doing for several years, or as his own distinguished predecessors have been still longer in the habit of doing. When the Rev. Dr. Brakeley, the distinguished and amiable President of Bordentown Female College, is unhappily so unwell that he cannot write himself, he does us the honor of directing his niece and preceptress to convey to us his kind wishes. Nor have we any different

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could not do otherwise than insert the prospectus, and allow our assistant to make a few favorable remarks of so surpassing an institution. But once this was done we were of no further account. We offer to take half-price; then one-third; finally, to be done with the matter, we propose to give a clear receipt for the advertisement for one-fifth our regular rate, but only got uncivil language in reply! Not one penny have we received from that day to this for the advertisement which the reverend Doctor was in such a hurry to insert, in order to patronize us. The Rev. Dr. Pershing may not be one of the "best and strongest men of the M. E. Church," alluded to by the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee in threatening us; but, no doubt, he will be glad to lend a hand, and perhaps contribute half a dollar, to so righteous an enterprise as exterminating us!

experience of the urbane and efficient President of the Wesleyan Female College at Wilmington Del. Perhaps the Rev. Mr. Wilson does not belong to the "strongest" Methodists; but, if knowledge, and good, sound sense constitute strength, he is as strong, at least, as a score of Blakeslees.

But, as all these gentlemen are presidents, chancellors, or provincials, perhaps it is not just to compare the meek, pious and learned Blakeslee to them, since he is only styled "principal," although he will doubtless be promoted very soon to a high rank in Boston University, by those "strongest men" who gave him such good advice! At all events, let us now compare him to a New England clergyman and educator who merely calls his institution a school. Our readers know our estimate of the Rev. Mr. Selleck's institution at Norwalk; if any do not, let them please turn to our last number. We did not visit Norwalk because we had any doubt of the high character of that gentleman's school. We did so at the earnest request of parents, deeply grateful for what he had done for their sons—of parents and guardians well competent to judge, and accordingly convinced that there is no better preparatory school in America. Mr. Selleck was in no need of pupils; he had, we believe, all or nearly all he could accommodate. Were our depravity such as that we would try to injure this school, it would be out of our power to do it. There is not one intelligent, honest person that knows it who would not indignantly repel any imputation on its character. Yet the course of Mr. Selleck is, to politely ask us to reserve a page for his prospectus, telling us that, although he is not in the habit of advertising, and is in no need of students, yet he so fully appreciates what we have done for the good cause, that he wishes to evince his appreciation in that way; and to this he courteously adds an order for a whole set of the Review, informing us that friends had borrowed some of the numbers he had received, and forgotten to return them. Mr. Selleck requests us to send him a bill as soon as convenient. As a small mark of our respect and esteem for his school we decline to accept anything for the set of the Review, and inform him that, for the same reason, we are most willing to make a reduction in our regular rate for his prospectus; but he generously insists on paying the full amount. Then on the first of the present month he does us the honor of writing us a very friendly letter, in which he says: "I do most thoroughly appreciate your kindness to myself and school."

Several times, Rev. Mr. Gannett, of the Gannett Institute, at Boston, Professor Bisbee, of Riverview Academy, Poughkeepsie,* and many others, have honored us in a similar manner, accompanying their checks with agreeable and encouraging words. Nor has any one done so more gracefully than the gentleman compared to Prof. Bisbee, in excellence as an instructor, by the worthy rival of both, as shown above—we mean Professor Howe Allen, Principal of Mount Pleasant Military Academy at Sing Sing, N. Y. And here we are reminded that some have inferred from our criticisms on certain "military institutes," that we are opposed to all military exercises in educational institutions. But as justly and logically might it be said that, because we have criticised "mixed" schools, like those of East Greenwich, Amenia, Claverack,* *et hoc genus omne*, we are opposed to having males and females educated together under any circumstances. Nay, as well might it be said that, because we have criticised the University of Pennsylvania, and shown it to be inferior in its educational standard to a second-rate preparatory school, we are opposed to all universities. In a word, we are opposed only to shams, whether those shams be called military institutes, academies, universities, etc.

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* More than once we have compared Prof. Bisbee to the representative men of the Christian Brothers for his devotion, honesty and thoroughness as an educator. We now beg leave to compare him with some of the same good men in another point of view. Just one year ago we were stricken down by a violent fever while working too early and too late on the last pages of our autumn number. While confined to our bed, with but little prospect that we could ever issue another number, the presidents of Manhattan College and Rock Hill College, Md., paid us in full for their prospectuses for the ensuing year, at the voluntary suggestion (without any intimation of the kind on our part) of their Provincial, who feared that our malady might be aggravated by uneasiness about pecuniary matters, especially as the panic prevailing at the time caused much apprehension even among those in perfect health.

As soon as Prof. Bisbee heard of our illness he immediately sent his check, kindly expressing the wish that it could contribute to our recovery. Again, early in March, taking it for granted that our sickness had left us scarce in funds—in which he was not at all mistaken—he voluntarily sends his check for another half year. True, we were in no actual need. Our well-tried, ever faithful friend, Mr. John Egan, actuated by the same benevolent motive as the Provincial of the Christian Brothers, offered to draw his check for any amount we might require or wish. But we did not feel the less deeply grateful to our educational friends, or the less touched with emotion by their generosity, on this account.

Returning for a moment to New England, where we refer to the Gannett Institute as creditable even to the modern Athens, we have to remark that another Massachusetts educator, to whom we are much indebted for kindness and courtesy, is the Rev. Charles V. Spear, Principal of Maplewood Institute for Young Ladies, at Pittsfield, certainly one of the best and most attractive institutions in this country, as we mean to prove, before long, to such of our readers as are not acquainted with its superior system of teaching, and its delightful surroundings.

Nor have we had any different experience in our dealings with first-class female educators from the late Mrs. Emma Willard (whose place is still vacant) to Mlle. Louise Rostan, whose school in this city is one of the best, and—we are glad to add—one of the most flourishing in New York. And to the same high rank belongs the School of Mlles. Charbonniers, whom we have also the honor of numbering among our patrons.

Of recent manifestations of courtesy and good-will from distinguished lady educators, we beg leave to give a specimen or two. Thus, writing to us at the close of last July, Madame D'Hervilly, the accomplished and venerable Principal of the Chegary Institute, Philadelphia, says: "You will oblige me by inserting my advertisement in your next number." Whether we were exacting with her, in details, or not, may be inferred from the following letter which we had the honor of receiving from her some three weeks later (August 21):

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* But, although we have placed Claverack in an unenviable category, we would not do Mr. Flack the injustice of comparing him to certain other head-masters in all particulars. Thus, for example, we cannot say, and therefore would not say, or insinuate, that Mr. Flack has ever made any attempt to cheat us out of our time or labor. Whatever may be his shortcomings as an educator, he has never indulged in any false pretences to us for that purpose. Nor does he owe us one penny for subscriptions, or aught else; which is far more than we could say of "the best and strongest men of the M. E. Church" (!)

> "DEAR SIR: A thousand and many more thanks for your kindness. I accept your generous offer, and hope you will pardon my seeming unreasonableness. Some one (and a great one) has said, 'Si on savait tout on pardonnerait tout.'
>
> "Veuillez, Monsieur, agréer l'assurance de ma haute consideration,
>
> "L. D'HERVILLY."

Another lady, who also may be said to belong to a family of educators, writes to us in a style equally lady-like and kind; we mean Miss Emily A. Rice, Principal of Locust Hill Seminary for Young Ladies, at Yonkers; an institution which that thriving and spirited young city may well appreciate, thanking its stars how much more fortunate it is in possessing a first-class young ladies' school than its more aristocratic neighbor, Tarrytown. True, the Poughkeepsie Female Academy, and Poughkeepsie Cottage Hill Seminary, are near enough to Tarrytown; and the latter is a very different institution under its present auspices from what it used to be under the old *régime*, for Dr. Wetsell, like Rev. Dr. Wright, is one of those educators who, having all the necessary qualifications for the noble task to which they devote themselves, insist on succeeding, no matter how formidable may seem the obstacles that impede their way.

But we have no room for digressions this time. While it affords us sincere pleasure to show how faithfully and honorably representative female educators perform their duties, and how courteously they treat even poor working people like ourselves, at the same time we have no such affectation, no such false gallantry, as to pretend to think that, whatever persons of the feminine gender do, especially if they call themselves educators, must be right and good. Since at least a portion of the truth had better be told in regard to those matters, we must say that there are some of the head-mistresses who are as anxious to "obtain goods under false pretences" as some of the head-masters! The former, as well as the latter, sometimes nearly overwhelm us with printed documents in the form of "testimonials"—all sorts of eulogies—all kinds of proofs that we are entirely mistaken as to the schools of their rivals, to whose merits we have ventured to allude—that theirs alone are capable of giving a fine young lady the finishing stroke! These modest remonstrances and assurances are generally accompanied with very handsome things about patronage to come, but we learned to understand, long since, that it is just such patronage as that with which we have been favored by "strong" divines and educators of the Blakeslee and Pershing stamp, each of whom has favored us with sufficient printed documents to line at least a hundred trunks!

Thus, for example, we have from the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee *brochures*, entitled, respectively, "Annual Catalogue of the Academy of East Greenwich, R. I., under the Direction of Boston University;" "New England Normal Musical Institute;" "Boston University Year Book, *edited by the University Council*, vol. 1;" "Chapel of the Greenwich Academy of Boston University, *Concert of the Musical Department*, etc., etc." Now, when we come to reflect on the whole affair, we are not sure, after all, but we deserve to be abused and threatened for failing to be overawed by such an immense array of "testimonials!" This would be the more easily understood by our readers if we had only time and space to present some extracts from almost any of the drawer-full of documents furnished us by the reverend "Principal and Professor of Mental and Moral Science!"

It is now some time since we had the pleasure of any chat, however brief, with our readers in regard to Manhattan College. The period has not been so long, however, but that most of them remember how high our estimate is of the character of that institution. Many of our friends used to think it strange how a "heretic" like us could have so profound an esteem for a Roman Catholic institution. But its catholicity could not bias us against it in the slightest degree. Were we even capable of being influenced by sectarian prejudice in our educational discussions, which is certainly not the case, we should remember that the Catholic Church can boast no other brotherhood so liberal-minded as the Christian Brothers. They are, in fact, in a certain important sense, Protestants themselves. Their illustrious founder, the Abbé de la Salle, was always more or less persecuted by bishops and archbishops, and for no more criminal offence than that he insisted on imparting knowledge to all who would learn. In other words, he was in favor of fully developing the human mind in every direction; in favor of free discussion. In other words, no Catholic reformer of any age was more opposed to shackling the human mind. Although a priest himself, he ordained that no priest should belong to his Order, and that, if any of his followers should become priests, they should be no longer Christian Brothers.

In a word, it was the good Abbe's intention and wish that the Christian Brothers should devote themselves exclusively to the great work of educating the people. Those who have succeeded him have fully carried out his views and wishes in this respect; and, as he was opposed by those who ought to have aided and encouraged him in so noble a work, so have they been, from time to time, in America as well as in Europe. It is not strange, then, that the best thinkers and most accomplished educators among the Christian Brothers should have succeeded in establishing, in so liberal and enlightened a country as this, colleges which are worthy of comparison with the best of our Protestant colleges. At all events, whether it be strange or not, they have succeeded. It is not alone Manhattan College that takes high rank among our literary institutions. Rock Hill College at Elicot, Maryland, and the College of the Christian Brothers at St. Louis,* though not quite equal to Manhattan, are excellent institutions, and each, we are glad to know, is in a flourishing condition.

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* For several years we were occasionally in the habit of seeing the President of St. Louis at his work in the class-room, and therefore can testify to his assiduity, fidelity and efficiency as an educator. He had

We have now before us an account of the last Commencement of Manhattan, including speeches made on the occasion by the Archbishop of New York, Hon. Richard O'Gorman, and General Prosper Wetmore, senior Regent of the University of New York. We extract a brief passage from the address of the Regent, only premising that it entirely accords with our own views:

> "I have been gratified, *more than it will be proper for me to say*, here and now, in what I have seen and heard, as it will be my duty hereafter to speak upon this subject. But I may say that, having been here on various similar occasions, I have *never yet departed from Manhattan College without feeling myself elevated in more ways than one* in my hopes for the future. I have always listened to wholesome doctrines in regard to morality, in all that belongs to its duties; and, if I do not feel it my duty to agree in all the doctrines that I have listened to to-day, I can truly say that I *honor the cause which has such teachers* to develop its principles and doctrines. (Loud applause.) Manhattan College has some qualities which I do not find in all the public institutions that it is my duty to visit. I find something *if not Roman Catholic* yet *something Catholic in its teachings*—something that I *can and must endorse with all my heart*, for we occasionally meet with those who can unite with us in sentiment, if not on the subject of religion, at least on morality."

This has always been our experience and feeling in regard to Manhattan. But, although the institution is almost, if not quite, Protestant in the freedom of thought and discussion

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but one drawback to the performance of his duties; that is, he could seldom remember dates. However, in the long run, nothing was lost by this, for when the date memory returned, as it would be sure to do at intervals, the students obtained an amount of chronological lore from Brother James in one hour which was sufficient for a twelvemonth.

We have known the President of Rock Hill pretty nearly as long, and in every respect as favorably; but if there be anything peculiar in his memory it is its remarkable power in remembering dates. In this respect he is almost the equal of Brother Paulian, or even Brother Patrick, of whom it is justly said that he never forgot anything he ought to have remembered, and never remembered anything which he ought to have forgotten.

which it allows its students, yet no Catholic institution produces more earnest or abler vindicators of Catholic doctrines. We have an interesting illustration of this in an oration delivered on the same occasion by one of the *alumni* of Manhattan. It is entitled "Truthful Statesmanship;" but its chief object seems to be to glorify Pius IX. We have sincere respect for the venerable Pontiff; but, had we faith enough to regard his Holiness as infallible in all other particulars, we think that even then we should entertain serious doubt as to his infallibility in the matter of statesmanship. We are not the less willing on this account, however, to let our readers see how zealously and ingeniously a Manhattan *alumnus* can espouse the Pope's cause:

> "Yes. But you ask, Have the days of truthful statesmanship then departed? Have we *none* to set the erring world a model? I know of one—there may be more—but I know of one who has been steadfast to his trust when dangers threatened, who has abided at his post unappalled by clamors, and unshaken by affliction. I mean him, the dethroned but ever glorious Pontiff of the Vatican. The world does not call him statesman, for it looks upon him as it does upon his history, and sees only the prelate's cope, and not the ermine which it covers. But, if the part of a true statesman consists in devotion to country, fidelity to the people's weal, and a strict observance of international courtesies, to whom, I ask, does the name more truly belong than to Pius?
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> "I do not see in all history any picture so touchingly sublime as that of this old man shorn of his temporal rule, yet standing like the angel of Eden on the threshold of faith, and beating back the doubts and chimeras that gather to assail it. You, student of classic lore, you, too, who explore the records of the past, go back with me through the ages. Select me your models of Grecian and Roman virtue, choose me the grandest characters of the Empire's day, point out the loftiest types of a later chivalry, and show me the man who can compare with this captive Pope in the majesty of his example and the enduring merit of his works."

If the colleges of the Christian Brothers be compared to our other Catholic colleges, it will be readily seen that the former labor under great disadvantages in some particulars. The other colleges derive immense aid from their respective patron saints, who are constantly performing miracles for them. This is particularly true of the Jesuit colleges of St. John and St. Xavier, and of the colleges of the Fathers of the Holy Cross out in Indiana, and elsewhere. Thus, for example, the former have a large strip of the Holy Coat of Treves, while the latter have a full supply of the holy water of Lourdes. The price of each article is but moderate—a mere bagatelle. Well, let us suppose a student is stupid, or lazy; he has only to procure the smallest particle of the coat, put it into a brass locket, and hang it about his neck as an amulet; after that, study is a superfluous thing! In the other case, all that is necessary is a full draught of the holy water of Lourdes, which we are informed may be had in any quantity at Notre Dame University for only two dollars a bottle. Even one glass, taken fasting, has a wonderful effect, but those ambitious to excel must not be too nice about the quantity. Then, again, we see it advertised that "a holy mass of ten years will be said for all those, *living and dead*, who pay one dollar." The Christian Brothers' colleges have no such advantages as these; their students must plod on in the old wearisome way, and yet, *mirabile dictu!* they far outstrip those who depend so much on the holy water, holy coat, etc.

While Father Shea was President at Fordham, a period of many years, we were constantly informed, by the pious orthodox puffers; that he had no superior anywhere as an educator. We, however, begged leave to maintain just as persistently that the dear good father was, in fact, no educator at all.

Now, we see that he has been discarded, and those who used to eulogize him so much, admit that Fordham fell to a very low depth under his auspices! If it ever stood high, this is indeed true. Let the faithful be of good cheer, however, for we are assured by the same parties that the successor of Father Shea is just the right man. He will elevate the college to a pinnacle of renown never dreamt of before his time!

There are two solid reasons for this prophecy; one is that the new president is a Prussian, the other that for many years he was the chief guardian of the real original miraculous Coat of Treves in the "*Liebfrauenkirche*" (Church of Our

Lady), in that ancient city. When Sweeny and Tweed were in full power in New York there was not so much need for the wonderful virtues of the coat, and Father Shea did very well. If it be true that the new Father has prepared a lecture, entitled "What I Know about Holy Coats" (and containing a startling digression on the danger of intrusting Catholic youth to colleges, which, though nominally Catholic, are not conducted by teachers in holy orders, or under the guardianship of any saint), which he is to deliver every fast-day at the college, and every feast-day at the academies of the Sacred Heart and Mount St. Vincent, we fear it may come to pass that, instead of sending away students for lack of room for them, as it has to do now, Manhattan College will be left in the lurch without any students!

To this we think we need hardly add that, if Father Blakeslee will only apply to some of the Jesuit Fathers, Holy Cross Fathers, Corrigan and McQuade Fathers, and certain other Fathers, he can have allies enough. All these, reinforced by the various other tribes we have indicated in the preceding pages, would constitute a formidable contingent to enter the field side by side with "the best and strongest men of the M. E. Church" in the great work of annihilating us. However, we will not take leave of our model head-master in any unfriendly or uncharitable way. We beg leave to submit to his consideration, as is our wont in such cases, the following precept, which, if he studies it "prayerfully," dictionary in hand, morning and night, for one month, will profit him vastly more than he has profited or will profit by abusing and threatening us:—

"Ah miser! et si quis primo perjuria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis Pœna venit pedibus!"

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY AND LEXICOGRAPHY.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Illustrated. In Ten Volumes, 4to. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1872.

We have repeatedly been requested by some of our most esteemed educational friends to examine this work, and give our impressions of it. The publishers have courteously afforded us an ample opportunity of doing so by sending us a copy of their revised edition. The Messrs. Lippincott & Co. are like the Messrs. Harper in this respect. Neither are ever afraid to have their publications reviewed. We have criticised books published by each—some of them severely—but they have never evinced any hostility toward us on this account, but have furnished their next publications for review, apparently as cheerfully as if we had found no fault.

Nor do either consider even the most expensive and most voluminous of their books too valuable to be furnished for review, in a journal read by the intelligent and educated classes. Yet these are the two houses which, above all others in this country, address the largest audiences through their own various periodicals.

It is needless to say that there would be nothing remarkable in this did other publishing houses pursue the same course. But the reading public should understand that this is by no means the case; that there are those who claim to be the rivals of the Harpers and the Lippincotts who, while they would be glad to furnish any of their publications if they were sure of having them praised, will furnish none except with that understanding. It is not in the hands of critics, but in the hands of puffers, these place their publications; so that when the "general reader" sees some of their most inane books eulogized he should be able to make a certain allowance for the circumstances of the case. That they have a perfect right even to hide their defective wares, as far as they can, from those likely to point out their defects, is undeniable. All we maintain is, that the public should be aware that a large number of very pretentious books are published, which cannot be criticised if it be in the power of their publishers to prevent it.

Sometimes we have deemed it our duty to the public to explain some of the high praise bestowed on certain publications of the Messrs. Appleton and Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., as having, in our opinion, something to do with the appreciative plan alluded to, although, of course, we are liable to be mistaken in such things as well as in others!

However, we are sincerely sorry when a useful and valuable work fails to reach us in time to do justice to its merits. Such is the case, we regret to say, in the present instance. We can only give a very cursory glance at the several volumes, but we have so long postponed complying with the wishes of our friends in this matter, that we cannot afford to do so any longer.

Although less attractive to the general reader than some other works by the Brothers Chambers, such, for example, as the "Book of Days," and "Information for the People," this voluminous work is highly valuable for the purpose for which it is intended: that of a dictionary of knowledge in which information on almost every subject can be obtained, and by means of the alphabetical arrangement of the articles, obtained on simple reference. The present Encyclopædia is peculiarly available for schools and for the family library, where the object is not so much profound research as a facility in obtaining and imparting general information in such a form as to be easily acquired and almost as easily retained. It is, of course, as a work of reference it is chiefly valuable; and notwithstanding a generalizing, and, occasionally, superficial mode of dealing with its subjects, which is, perhaps, inseparable from works of this nature, it is incalculably useful.

The necessarily brief manner in which much of the information is imparted, the authors have exerted themselves to remedy by giving under many of the different headings references to the various authors by whom the subject in question has been treated, at length.

It is not, however, to be inferred that all the subjects are superficially handled. In the article on the United States (vol. 10), for instance, the authors have gone quite extensively into the circumstances which contributed to bring about the principal events in our history, and have manifested a clearness of insight and a fairness of thought which we very seldom find among our usually clear-headed Scotch brethren when the subject is American history or American institutions. The author distinctly recognizes the fact that the right of self-government, as to their internal affairs, was always claimed by the American colonies; that the right to regulate the domestic concerns of the colonies was never claimed by the English parliament until the Protectorate and the reign of Charles II., and was only in a manner established at the time of the English revolution of 1688; that slavery was forced upon us by the English, who had obtained by the Convention at Utrecht the exclusive control of the slave-trade, and had organized a great slave-trading company, in which Queen Anne and the King of Spain were the principal stockholders; and that the mother country had forced the colonies into a state of war, and was actually waging war against them as rebels, before any attempt was made on their part to detach themselves from her sovereignty.

The events of the late Southern rebellion are graphically and impartially related, and the circumstances which led to it set forth with fidelity. The author exhibits clearly the fact that the abolition of slavery was not at the outset an object of the war, but was the natural and inevitable result thereof.

As instances of the variety of subjects treated in the work before us, we may allude to the articles on Whist (vol. 10) and Croquet in the Supplement at the end of the same volume. The former of these articles contains a statement at once full and concise—and therefore easy to be remembered—of the rules, the observances of which will constitute a good whist player; the latter contains complete instructions on the game of which it treats, further aiding the learner by copious illustrations.

In like manner the article on Carpentry, (vol. 2,) contains brief but useful instructions from which the embryo carpenter may acquire the rudiments of his art. The same may be said of the articles on the other mechanical arts, most of which are well supplied with references to other subjects in the Encyclopædia of which the knowledge might be useful to the artisan.

We are here reminded that it is to be regretted that authors so generally accurate, should have made the mistake of confounding "Ashtaroth" (vol. 1) with the name of a female Deity. Ashtaroth was not a term used to designate any individual divinity (although some writers have erroneously applied it to Astoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians) but was a generic term for all goddesses, as "Baaline" was of all gods. It is remarkable that our authors have avoided a similar error in the case of "Baal," which they recognize as the generic term signifying "Lord" or "God."

The various articles on Natural History are instructive and interesting, and are as a rule profusely illustrated. The reader will find especial interest in the accounts of the various Zoophytes, such as the Sea Anemone (vol. 1) and the Polypus (vol. 7), and the lover of oddities will find food for his taste in the accounts in the Supplement of the nest-building Ape, the Owl Parrot and the Prionodon Gracilis or Delundung, a sort of link between the cat and weasel.

The article on Wood Engraving (vol. 10) contains some curious illustrations of the early specimens in use in the middle ages. Information for the law student is found in the article on Parent and Child (vol. 7), and on Husband and Wife (vol. 5), and various articles of a similar character. Vol. 1 contains a list of the important observations in general use, which will be serviceable to the copyist as well as writer.

The Supplement at the end of volume 10 contains matter of a more recent date than had been available when the work was originally compiled. Such are the account of the Rinderpest which a few years since created such terror among the cattle-owners in England and Ireland; of the laying of the Atlantic cables, the last and most successful of which is of a comparatively recent date; on breech-loading and needle guns, and various other articles *ex omne genere.*

The work is printed in clear, good type, though its voluminous character has rendered necessary the use of the double column, and of a smaller letter than is desirable for the eye of one advanced in age.

The illustrations will prove a decided recommendation, especially to the younger part of the community. The larger plates are, however, deserving of more emphatic recommendation, both for their execution and for the judicious selection of subjects calculated to enhance the interest of the work.

This Encyclopædia will be of great service to the youthful and, perhaps, careless, or desultory reader, whose eye, in wandering from page to page, will often be caught, and his interest excited by some chance engraving and the article which it illustrates; and information will by this mode often be effectually imparted which, if administered in the shape of a lesson, would be rejected or forgotten. To the more studious and earnest seeker after information its value must be evident, though rather as furnishing a series of guides and stepping stones by whose aid he can attain the knowledge that his soul desires, than as itself providing the thorough information which the profound inquirer demands.

We trust we have satisfied our friends, even by this necessarily hasty glance, that they will incur no risk of being cheated in adding Chamber's Encyclopædia to their libraries. It is marked everywhere with those characteristics of excellence which have given the works of the Brothers Chambers a high and honorable prestige, wherever the English language is spoken or read.

Arctic Experiences. Containing Captain GEORGE E. TYSON'S *Wonderful Drift on the Ice Floe, a History of the Polaris Expedition, the Cruise of the Tigris and Rescue of the Polaris Survivors. To which is added a General Arctic Chronology.* Edited by E. VALE BLAKE. 8vo, pp. 479. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

There have been but few expeditions that have bordered so much on the marvellous, and created so much of almost mysterious interest, as the Arctic explerations. The "plain, unvarnished tale" is quite sufficient to excite an intense and sustained interest without the charms of rhetoric or graces of style neccessary for most other subjects. It will at once be seen that the narrator of Arctic adventure is placed on a vantage-ground compared with other historians.

This work embraces facts of thrilling interest and of sufficient importance to demand attention, independently of style. It is written pretty much in the usual method of describing Arctic experiences. The diary form is adopted, and certainly it is the best and almost only form possibe in such works. We have in this book descriptions of the leading Arctic expeditions and their chiefs, from Sebastian Cabot to the chiefs of the Polaris expedition, including Frobisher, Gilbert, Hudson, Von Wrangel, Scoresby, Parry, Ross, Sir John Franklin, etc. The information here given will be useful to those who may not be familiar with the earlier histories of Arctic travel; although for those who have read more elaborate histories it is, of course, almost superfluous.

The interest of the reader will naturally centre itself on the investigations and sufferings of the Polaris crew and their rescue by the Tigris. It will be nothing new to most of the reading public of this country to hear of the expedition ably planned by Captain Hall and supported by the government authorities, for it was a matter of intelligent interest to most of the American people. The vessel that left Brooklyn Navy Yard on the 29th of June, 1871, was followed by the curiosity and well-wishes of a large section of our people.

There are some things that will produce mingled feelings as to the success of the expedition that was undoubtedly marred by cowardice on the part of one of the leading officers, and jealousy on the part of others. The success might have been even more complete had there been one common spirit of enterprize; but that seems to have been sadly lacking. The remarks of Captains Hall and Tyson reveal a state of things that was anything but commendable, and that will teach a lesson as to the necessity of selecting those who, by common sympathy, are best fitted to work together, as well as qualified for the perilous difficulties of Northern trade. The following paragraph will throw some light on the state of affairs:

> "October 3.—Captain Hall is feeding the dogs up, and looking over his things, to decide what he will take. Had a conversation with Captain Hall. He told me that he would like to have me go with him, and then he stopped, and, pointing to the sailing-master, said: 'But I can not trust that man. I want you to go with me, but I don't know how to leave him on the ship. I want to go on this journey, and to reach, if possible, a higher latitude than Parry before I get back."

This state of things needs no comment. Notwithstanding this mistrust, Captain Hall's expedition was not by any means unsuccessful, for it reached the latitude of 82° 29′′ N., and traversed a sea where probably vessel had never before been. Had Captain Hall lived he might have achieved still greater success, in spite of opposition from certain quarters where certainly it ought not to have been found. The drift on the "ice floe" may indeed be classed as wonderful. It certainly has not a parallel in the history of Arctic voyages. For a period of six months, with but little food, and that precarious, exposed to gales that were terrible in their length and force, with the floe lessening in bulk, and with but little hope of deliverance—such was the position of a portion of that suffering Polaris crew. We wish we could give several paragraphs to illustrate the endurance of human nature, and to set forth the perils of the Arctic voyager. We give a brief extract:

> "There (on the ice floe) we stood all night long, from 9 P. M. to 7 A. M., enduring what I should say few, if any, have ever gone through with and lived. Every little while one of these tremendous seas would come and lift the boat up bodily, and us with it, and carry it and us forward on the ice almost to the extreme opposite edge of our piece; and several times the boat got partly over, and was only hauled back by the superhuman strength which a knowledge of the desperate condition its loss would reduce us to gave us. Had the water been clear, it would have been hard enough. But the sea was full of loose ice, rolling about in blocks of all shapes and sizes, and with almost every sea would come an avalanche of these, striking us on our legs and bodies, and bowling us off our feet like so many pins in a bowling-alley. Some of those blocks were only a foot or two square, others were as large as an ordinary bureau, and others larger; in fact, all sorts and sizes. We all were black and blue with bruises for many a day after."—pp. 320 and 321.

They were rescued from their fearful danger by the Tigris. The "Arctic Chronology" is useful for reference, as it not only contains the dates of various expeditions, but some valuable collateral information. The scientific notes are worthy of perusal, for they contain information in regard to some Arctic plants and other physical features. The pictorial illustrations are good, and will be especially interesting to the young.

1. *The Crusades.* By GEORGE W. COX, M. A. 16mo., pp. 228. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.
2. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution.* By FREDERIC SEEBOHM. Same publishers. 1874.

These are the first two of a series of works proposed to be issued, illustrating the epochs in modern history most remarkable for their bearing on the intellectual and political development of Christendom. The two eras selected for the initial works of the series, though widely separated in point of time, will be found, in fact, to have been so closely allied in evolving the great results which may even now be said to be in process of development, that their selection by the editor will be found most judicious.

The Crusades, usually supposed to have been the result of an outburst of religious fanaticism, are shown by Mr. Cox to have originated in a deeper motive on the part of the sovereigns of Western Europe—a motive, in fact, as much political as religious.

Christianity in the West, though controlled by ambitious men, and encumbered with many degrading superstitions, possessed a strong hold on the affections of the people. For this reason they loathed the Church in the East, which they had learned to regard as little better than heathenism. It had long been an object of ambition to the see of Rome to extend its dominion over the patriarchate of Constantinople; and there can be little doubt that the great object which Gregory VII. and Urban

II. had in encouraging the Crusades, was, by the occupation of Jerusalem, to establish a power of their own to the east of Constantinople, by whose means the Eastern Church should be gradually absorbed into their own. That this object was suspected by the Eastern Christians, and by the Emperor Alexius in particular, is evident from the fact that, while ostensibly aiding the enterprise, they indirectly placed every possible obstacle in its way.

The Crusades failed in their object, but were, nevertheless, instrumental in working out a result which the originators never contemplated. The Moslems were taught their own strength, and, emboldened by their success at Jerusalem, eventually pushed their conquests to Constantinople. The scholars and thinkers, who were thus driven from their homes, and compelled to find a refuge in Western Europe, infused a new life, intellectual and religious, into the lands of their adoption. Literature revived throughout the West. From Italy to Oxford, scholars arose who were untrammelled by the dogmas of the schoolmen who read the Bible in its original tongue, and interpreted it to the people, and who, in that way, were in fact the pioneers of the Reformation.

The connection between the two great epochs of the Crusades and the Reformation is clearly developed in the two books before us. In other respects they have little in common. The exciting incidents commemorated in Mr. Cox's book, and the glowing language in which they are recorded, render it more interesting than the companion volume—but the impression left by it is a little vague. The style of Professor Seebohm's book is calm and lucid, and, while making little attempt to fascinate the reader, conveys much valuable information which is, for that very reason, perhaps, more easily retained in the memory. It is to be regretted, however, that he should have permitted himself to fall into such inaccuracies as to speak of "Ferdinand of Castile and Isabella of Aragon," (p. 86), and various other errors of a similar character.

The volumes are gotten up in tasteful style, and will prove a desirable addition to the family library.

PHILOSOPHY AND BELLES-LETTRES.

An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature. By B. A. M. 12mo. pp. 182. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1874.

It not unfrequently happens that the best books fall into our hands just when we have least time to indicate their peculiar merits for the benefit of our readers. The volume now before us presents a striking instance of this kind. Not that it introduces itself to us in any pretentious way. On the contrary, it evinces all the modesty of a young maiden, who, as Byron expresses it, "blushes at her own loveliness." And were it not for the decidedly masculine vigor of thought which the book everywhere exhibits we might question whether the author be male or female; for there is nothing further to tell the story than the initials "B. A. M." More than once we have laid the book aside for our December number, so that we might have time, at least to satisfy ourselves in discussing its merits. But we have thought again that three months is a long time; although this is one of the few books which will be as fresh and good three months, or three years hence, as it is now. This, however, will not do for the reader, who may never see it, or even hear of it, during the intervening time, and accordingly we proceed to take a cursory glance at its contents.

The author expresses his intention in the following words: "It is the aim of the present essay to embody, in a united whole, the laws and principles of literature in its most general relations. It may be considered as an introduction to the Philosophy of History."

The subject is considered under three main aspects, viz., Principles and Facts, Theory, Practice. It is necessary to observe that certain things are assumed to be strictly true, especially those dogmas in religion that may be classed as "orthodox, or evangelical." This must be understood, otherwise the book might be regarded, not only as faulty by omission, but also as disregarding the views of some distinguished writers on the "Philosophy of Literature." The author, for example, tells us in his introduction that "the following truths are postulated :

> "I. That there is a God and a divine revelation.
> II. That man is made in the image and likeness of his Maker.
> III. That his aspirations are satisfied only in the plane of the supernatural."

Our readers are aware that we have no pretensions to orthodoxy, but we trust they are also aware that we do not the less respect, on this account, those who are orthodox. Literature has a province of vast extent and of varied beauty and interest, including many characteristics ranging from one extreme of the human mind to the other. To deal with this important topic as it deserves requires profound research, a sympathetic soul, and an ability to represent its leading characteristics. To define the subject does not, however, require that ability and subtility that are necessary to mark off one peculiar province of thought from another, or distinguish things that differ but little.

In short, literature is so wide that one can safely generalize. The author defines it in the following language:

> "Literature is the verbal expression of man's affections as acted upon in his relations with the material world, society, and his Creator; that expression being as varied as the moods that pass over his soul, whether they speak of love or hatred, of joy or sorrow, of fear or hope."—p. 17.

Is this definition, comprehensive as it is, wide enough? Is it not possible that something has been written that might well bear the term "literature" without strictly conforming to this definition? For instance, some passages in Homer, Milton, Dante, and Shakespeare, that are simply freaks of fancy, acknowledged to bear no relationship to anything above or below, except in a secondary and derived sense. We know that fancy must certainly derive its material from one of the three sources named, for it is not otherwise possible for it to rear its structure; but the building sometimes has no counterpart elsewhere.

Literature is as wide—in its common use—not only as prose and ordinary poetry, but as the wildest vagaries of fancy. We simply put this view as a query. We quite agree with the author when he says that, "literature has its roots deep in the nature of man." It certainly has, and to a large extent is the expression of that nature, whether in simple prose or in the frenzied outpourings of its storied depths.

The function of literature is manifold. It interprets our manhood and assists us in the march of progress. Our author truly and forcibly informs us that "The clash of thought educes new thought. Mind influences mind, even over the chasm of ages. Virgil bows before Homer, and Dante acknowledges Virgil to be his master and model. For a thousand years Aristotle is the inspiration of the philosophical world. The genius of Thackeray expands only after it has been saturated with the master-pieces of Richardson and Fielding. Thus is wrought the chain of thought that girdles the world."—p. 20.

It is a question that might be productive of good to inquire once more how far Dante was indebted to Virgil. We rather think that the pupil was a great deal more adulatory in relation to his "master" than he was indebted to him. That he was indebted there can be no doubt, but that he was very greatly under obligation the *Divina Commedia* does not prove.

There is a great scope for different views under the heading of the Origin of Literature. The theory of development has been held by some. Herbert Spencer, for instance, speaks of the "survival of the fittest." Darwin speaks of man as follows: "As he ascends the scale of perfectibility, an equilibrium in his faculties will become more 'determined.'" Very many, perhaps the majority, accept a modified theory of development as to literature, though there are several notable exceptions. The author, of course, differs from the view of Darwin, for he says, p. 22:

> "According to this view, language and literature are the results of man's progress in intelligence. But facts militate against this theory, for the noblest monuments are the most ancient that have reached our time."

Our author has treated of architecture and literature as reciprocal in their influence, taking Greece as an example. Certainly, literature and art, especially architecture, may be regarded as pretty closely akin, though whether that will apply universally may be open to question. It is more than probable that a certain kind of poetry may exist, especially the bardic kind, without much progress in architecture. But the principle laid down by our author is generally correct.

It may be said that there are certain epochs determining certain classes of literature. Take the Homeric age as an example of martial ardor. But we, certainly cannot agree with the statement that the Reformation was at all injurious to literature, although it may have damaged a species of literature that had but little practical utility. Whatever may have been its immediate effect on classical studies, it gave an impetus to the common mind that has held for centuries. Of course stirring times are not the most fitting for studies that require calm and almost judicial research; but at the same time they may relieve the mind from trammels that impede true progress in philosophy and literature. After the storm is somewhat hushed, then the effects are seen; and, most assuredly, they have been seen in the memorable instance referred to.

But time and space forbid us to proceed. We cannot conclude, however, without cordially recommending, and especially to schools of all religious denominations, a work so compact with well-digested, suggestive thought, as "An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature."

Katharine Earle. By Miss ADELINE TRAFTON. 12mo. Boston: Lee & Shephard. 1874.

THIS story possesses one advantage over most of those published at the present day, in being essentially American. The characters, the incidents, the situations, are such as are of daily occurrence among us, and could hardly have existed elsewhere. The work breathes throughout the spirit of our national life. There are no *fade* sketches of society; no worn-out attempts to exhibit national peculiarities. The authoress has throughout the work relied on her own experience and observation.

From the ante-revolutionary mansion of the Earle family in Boston, with its square hall, winding stair-ways, and out of the way hiding-places, which constitute the heroine's first surroundings, to the quaint, half-Southern town on the Pennsylvania border, in which its *denouement* is reached, we have a series of pictures which every American will recognize. The principal defect of the story is the imperfect construction of the plot. In fact, it can be hardly said to have a plot. It is rather a series of episodes in which the heroine's inner life is evolved. Indeed, no particular incident in the story appears to have any special bearing on the rest. The author would appear to be in some degree conscious of this defect, or at least that it may be so regarded. In no other way can we understand the graceful apology which she offers (p. 97) for dwelling so long on "the child and the people who moved in and out and formed a portion of her daily life."

Katharine Earle is the youngest child of an ancient but reduced New England family. In the seclusion of her poverty her mind has developed among books and in the society of her own thoughts. We are introduced to her when about to appear at a child's ball—her first experience of the world. "A pair of great dark eyes in the midst of a pale, absorbed face; a mass of dark hair thrust back from a low, wide forehead," such (p. 12) is the description of the eight-year old Katey who presents herself at the ball in an old brocade "which had been brought from England when there was not another in the colony which could compare with it," and which could *almost* stand alone (p. 18). In this quaint garb she shrinks into a dark corner, at first suffering the pangs natural to a shy and sensitive temperament, but by degrees, forgetting her self in witnessing the enjoyment of the others, she becomes happy, in her own way, until her mortification is renewed by the departure of the whole party to the supper-room, entirely overlooking her. In a paroxysm of anger she is about to return home, when, in ascending the stairs, she stumbles over a crippled boy, some years her senior, who has been left out in the cold like herself. The similarity of their positions opens the door to an acquaintance. The young lad becomes strongly interested in the strange little figure, and when sufficiently recovered from his lameness, takes measures to renew the acquaintance; but his early departure for Europe ere long brings their intercourse to a close.

At this same ball another figure casts a dark shadow on the canvass. Dacre Horn, a youth "with supercilious mien and a cruel, mocking laugh," (p. 23). These are the good and evil angels of her future life.

The second and one of the most admirable episodes of the book arises from the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

> "From a refuge Boston became a covert, where frightened creatures hid in trembling insecurity. More than one man hesitated and yielded at that time, not from cowardice, but from an honest query in his mind, in rendering up his dues, which were Cæsar's and which were God's."—(pp 45-46.)

Katey, early one morning, encounters a runaway slave who had been for years past a dependent on her family. His master is on his track, and unless he can be concealed until nightfall she knows that he has no hope of escape. An instinct which she cannot herself comprehend overcomes her dread of consequences; and through a small dark hall and up a narrow winding stair, she conducts him into a deserted attic, where, concealed behind an unused bedstead, is a low door which leads into an empty garret where Ben, the runaway, can be concealed till night. But the fugitive has been tracked. Dacre Horn has seen him enter the Earle mansion, and gives information which that very night brings the slave-catchers to the house with their warrant for his recapture. With a palpitating heart Katey, who has kept her own secret, follows them into the attic where the servant, who has no suspicion of the truth, to her terror reveals the hidden garret and invites the officers to search. But Ben has escaped. He has discovered a trap door on the roof.

"A blessed quiet descended upon Katey like that which fills the Church when people bow their heads to the last Amen."—(p 83.)

These are the episodes of Katharine Earle's childhood. She next appears to us a girl of eighteen—residing temporarily with her sister Delphine, who has made a wealthy marriage and is established at Newport. Katharine, however, will not live in dependence. She has already accepted a position in a Pennsylvania school as governess, and has already fixed the day for entering on her duties. Dacre Horn now appears on the scene as a young man of fortune, but not enjoying a very good reputation, despite which fact Delphine manœuvres to secure him for her sister rather than see her support herself as a governess. But Katharine recoils from Dacre. Her instinct and the recollection of his former treachery appears to warn her against him. By degrees, however, her woman's heart softens at the isolation of his position and the coldness with which the world treats him. She listens to him and at last "pity melts the soul to love," and by the time that she leaves Newport she has promised to become his wife.

"The sea heard a story more beautiful than the summer twilight—the story of youth and love and summer time. The voices, the forms may change, but the story will go on while the world stands and the sea crouches on the shore to listen."—(p 105.)

During their last interview Dacre, and apparently Katey also, are recognized by a stranger, "a man of medium height, squarely built, with deep-set gray eyes and a strong frank face shaded on either side by a heavy red-brown beard" (p 116). He appears to regard Dacre with displeasure and Katharine with something akin to pity.

An accident to the train and an American aptitude for forming acquaintances, brings Katharine during her journey into communication with a party of Swiss vocalists. The travelers are obliged to remain a night on the road; and Katharine, at the suggestion of her new friends, accompanies them to the hotel where they propose to give a concert. One of the girls becoming confidential with Katherine, informs her that her sister is unhappy about a young man "who had followed her from place to place until he stole her heart." The girl is really ill and unable to sing, and Katharine is persuaded to wear her costume, and appear on the stage in her place – a singularly imprudent step but quite characteristic of the eccentric girl. She has reason to repent her imprudence; for on leaving the room she meets, besad and full, "the searching and astonished gaze" of a pair of deep-set gray eyes belonging to a square figure with a strong fresh face shaded by a heavy red-brown beard." On the following day she arrives at the school, in a town close upon the Southern border,

"—whose interests are so closely connected with that section of the Union that although professedly neutral, its sympathies really and fiercely followed its interests. There is nothing so bitter in its hatred, so strong in its partisanship as neutrality."—(p 163.)

At this school she meets Professor Dyce, whom she at once recognizes as the stranger whom she had encountered with Dacre Horn, and who had confronted her at the concert. He also recognizes her as the odd little girl whom he had befriended, years before, at a child's party in Boston.

Ere long Katharine's tranquility is disturbed by a note from Dacre, which is handed to her by one of the school girls. Stolen interviews follow, in which Katharine's apprehensions are aroused, but nothing is revealed to her until she receives a letter from her sister which astonishes her with the information that Dacre had been involved in a bank robbery and is now a fugitive from justice. Conscious that she has been partly to blame in encouraging Katharine to like the young man, she writes in the hope of undoing whatever mischief she may have done. But she has misjudged Katharine:

> "To one who has enlisted heart and soul in a warfare, the time to waver is not when the foe appears; to one who has really taken upon himself vows, the time to doubt is not when the rack is brought out. She would never desert him now."—p. 201.

A last interview convinces her that Dacre is really guilty, and is still associated with his former confederates, and is even now obliged to fly to some other town. The secret of Katharine's unhappiness is suspected by Professor Dyce, who attempts to counsel her, but without result. What the Professor has failed to do, Katharine's Swiss friends effect. On a visit to them she is apprised that the missing lover has re-appeared, and this lover, on inquiry, proves to be Dacre Horn. A long illness ensues, from which Katharine rises a changed woman. The old love has died out of her heart, and in course of time a new love arises to replace it.

The *denouement* in which the marriage of Katharine with Professor Dyce is brought about by their losing their way in the forest and being obliged to camp out all night, is undoubtedly the weakest portion of the plot; and besides reminding the reader too emphatically of a similar situation in "The Mill on the Floss," is altogether unworthy of the hero and heroine, and will create an inevitable feeling of disappointment on laying the book aside.

But, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory termination of an otherwise excellent story, "Katharine Earle" is a work which will well repay perusal—a work not merely to while away an idle hour, but a book for thinkers and feelers—a book which instructs as well as interests.

EDUCATION AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

German University Life. The Story of My Career as Student and Professor, with Personal Reminiscences of Goethe, Schiller, Schilling, Schleinmacher, Fichte, Novalis, Schlegel, Neander, and others. By HEINRICH STEFFENS. Translated by WILLIAM L. GAGE. 16mo, pp. 284. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

IN this volume the translator has judiciously selected for publication the most interesting and instructive portions of an autobiography which in its original form extended through ten volumes, and covered four thousand pages! Notwithstanding the appalling length of the work, with its concomitant faults of diffuseness and egotism, there was that to be found in its pages which, when carefully winnowed from the surrounding chaff, was well worthy of perusal. This service has been rendered the public in the present volume; and we have now, in a convenient form, a gallery of literary portraits—portraits the more valuable as taken from the stand-point of a foreigner.

We would not, however, be understood to say that the literary portraits contained in this volume are the sole attraction of the work. The writer himself does not fail to excite interest. Notwithstanding the egotism with which they are sometimes disfigured, the pages breathe throughout the simple and loving nature of a child. They display, moreover, a brilliant though not a profound intellect; a vivacity of observation with a quickness of thought and feeling which cast a glamour of their own on the various figures as they dawn and fade on the canvas. We can understand that Goethe and Schlegel and Schleinmacher should have loved the large-hearted, sensitive, earnest Dane; and the very weaknesses of which he makes so frank an avowal cause us to feel at home with him, and to sympathize with his emotions as of one of those whom we had personally known.

The translator has, with good judgment, refrained from giving extracts from the first three volumes, which treat of Steffens' childhood and early life. He is first introduced to us at the age of twenty-five, commencing a tour in Germany, whither he has been sent by the Danish government as a mineralogist. His destination is Freiberg, the seat of the famous school of mineralogy; but for him the intellectual life of Germany possesses attractions not to be resisted; he accordingly remains at Jena, where many of the eminent *literati* were congregated. It was here that he heard a lecture by Fichte, of which he gives the following curious specimen:

"After my personal interview with Schelling, I went to hear Fichte lecture, who was just commencing his course on the Constitution of Man. His short, thick figure, with its sharp, authoritative eyes, struck me with an imposing effect when I saw him for the first time. His style of speech was cutting as a knife; his sentences fell like the stroke from a razor. Already acquainted with even the weaknesses of his pupils, he sought in every way to make himself intelligible to

> them. He took all possible pains to substantiate what he said by proof; but yet he had a certain authoritative air, as if he would remove every doubt by a command, to which unhesitating obedience should be paid. 'Gentlemen,' he said 'withdraw within yourselves; enter into your own mind; we are now not dealing with anything outward—purely with ourselves.'
>
> "The hearers, thus bidden, really seemed to withdraw into their own minds. Some changed their position and straightened themselves up; others bowed themselves over and closed their eyes. All waited with great eagerness to see what should come next. 'Gentlemen,' continued Fichte, 'let your thought be the wall.' I could see that the hearers set their minds most intently upon the wall, and everything seemed favorable thus far. 'Have you thought—the wall?' asked Fichte. 'Now, then, gentlemen, let your thought be *that* that thought the wall.' It was curious to see what confusion and perplexity now seemed to arise. Many of the hearers seemed no ways able to discover *that* that had thought the wall, and I now understood how it might well happen that young men who stumbled over the first approaches to speculative philosophy in so clumsy a way might, in later efforts, fall into errors which should be grave, not to say dangerous."—pp. 38, 39.

While at Jena, Steffens became intimate with many of the leading poets and philosophers, among others Schlegel, Schelling, Hufeland, and Frohman. It was at the house of the last mentioned that he first met Goethe. His account of the interview borders on the ludicrous, although to Steffens himself it was an occasion of the deepest mortification. The great poet overlooked him entirely, and addressed all his conversation to a third party. The sensitive Danish visitor returned home terribly wounded.

> "I remembered," he says, "stories of his haughtiness and coolness, and went to my rooms in a mood almost unendurable. The northern European is by nature easily wounded in this way, and I have had to struggle all my life with a sensitiveness which has often made me very unhappy. However, I got along as well as I could, and repeated Philene's words as I walked home.
>
> "If I don't love thee, what is that to thee?"
>
> but yet it would lie like a dark shadow across my path."—p. 42.

Steffens' mortification was so great that for a long while he positively refused to meet Goethe, or even to remain in company where he was. At last the ice was broken by Goethe himself, and Steffens ere long became his constant companion. The impression on the mind of the latter is set forth in his own words:

> "I became acquainted with Goethe on a side of his character hitherto unknown to me. His deep sympathy with nature, that quickening, creative power which appeared in all his poems and threw its clear light over all his words became apparent; plants and animals, and even the flashing colors of the rainbow, he could view, not in their isolated unity, but in all their mutual dependencies and relations." —p. 45.

In all the absorbing enthusiasm for Goethe among the men of his time, Schiller would appear hardly to have met with justice. Yet the great poet himself appreciated him, and manifested sincere interest in the success of his great play. Steffens attended the first representation of the opening part, and he testifies that to Goethe's masterly management the performance was indebted for its chief success.

From Jena, Steffens proceeded to Halle, and thence to Berlin, each of which cities was destined at a future day to become his residence. He finally took up his abode at Freiburg, where, in addition to the pursuit of his studies, he commenced his career as an author by the publication of a work on Physics. He soon experienced the rough side of an author's life, and his philosophy, associated with that of Schlegel and Schelling, became the subject of the harshest attacks. Of the dignified and Christian equanimity with which he bore this treatment, and the fidelity with which, regardless of praise or blame, he adhered to the work to which he had assigned himself, we cannot speak in terms of too high commendation. The following extract is a touching exposition of his sentiments:

> "Praise and blame are both equally harmless. Whoever has a work to do which absorbs the energies of his whole being is spending his happiest days. He can build on in peace, and cherish the thought that he is doing a work which shall not perish; he knows that not merely the passing day, but that history has, through him, gained new ideas; if his work is to him something precious and sacred, he cannot only bear attacks with indifference, but can even be patient with his weaknesses while he seeks to battle with and overcome them. I must confess that the attacks of adversaries have been in no way injurious to the development of my conceptions, and have in no way hindered my giving to the future what shall be of permanent worth. I hold it for true that the power of the censor over journals and the ephemeral forms of literature is of little avail. I once called it a kind of perpetual slaughtering of the babes of Bethlehem to kill the Saviour, whom yet all miss."—p. 94.

While residing at Freiberg, Steffens paid a visit to Jena, where, for the first time, he became acquainted with Frederich Schlegel. Of this distinguished author he has given the following brilliant description:

> "There could hardly be a man more capable of wielding a strong personal influence than Frederich Schlegel. He grasped every subject which was presented to him in its whole length and breadth. He could even pass at once into the comprehension of my ideas on natural philosophy; but all his writings show that he was unable to gain a full insight into the workings of nature. His wit was inexhaustible and happy, and he belonged to those who understand what wit really is.
>
> "It is well known that wit and acuteness are often brought into contrast, and that it is generally insisted that they mutually exclude each other. The man devoid of wit, who, because he is accustomed to call himself sharp-sighted, is inclined to give the preference to keenness, believes that a witty man cannot be acute; and yet it must be confessed that both faculties, where they exist in a sound and active state, presuppose each other. Whoever grasps *in an instant* all the relations of a subject and masters them at once, he has wit. This *immediate* grasping is necessary; it must come without a moment's pause. It is not the seeing of dim analogies, not the conceiving of things in their unity, that makes wit. Wit must see all this without delay; to be wit, it must be immediate. Wit is the child of the moment. The difference between wit and sharp-sightedness lies in the time which is needed to grasp all the relations of a subject. Wit pounces upon them and startles you into laughter; acuteness takes them with quickness, indeed, but not as in a twinkling. Wit reads to you as by the lightning's flash;

acuteness by the full glory of day. Wit is keenness highly animated and intensified."—pp. 104, 105.

The fascination which Germany's poets and philosophers exercised over Steffens is manifest from the fact that, although he had contemplated extending his travels to Italy, France and England, he passed his whole five years of absence contentedly in a few German cities. This love of Germany proved highly prejudicial to his success in his own country, where, on his return, he gave lectures on philosophy and geognosy. It was currently reported that he had ceased even to think in his native tongue, but habitually thought in German. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should have accepted a call to Halle as Professor of Natural Philosophy, Physiology, and Mineralogy, and that thenceforth Germany should become his home.

At Halle Steffens formed one of the warmest and most enduring friendships of his life. We allude to Schleiermacher. It was in his society that the religious tendencies of Steffens's nature were principally developed—how fully, he has intimated in the following passage:

> "A delightful spring day enticed us both, accompanied by a common friend, to walk out to Petersberg on the evening before the solemn burial service should be held. We spent the night in a hut in the little village of Ostrow. That night will never be forgotten by me. We never drew so near each other as then. Schleiermacher never displayed himself to me more exalted or more pure. That night still comes back to me as one of the marked periods of my life—I might almost say it seems hallowed. The day closed glorious and beautiful; the landscape stretched away, made fair by the new activities of spring. The whole scene was like a vast natural temple; the magnificence gave wings to every thought, it penetrated us through and through, and, as the spring quickens the earth, so did this prospect quicken our spirits. I have a witness of the deep impression which this night made upon Schleiermacher, in a letter to his friend, Lady Herz. It was the reflection of his own purity, in which I stood, as it were, illumined. His deep spirituality was more apparent to me than ever before. The Saviour was with us then, as he had promised to be when two or three were gathered together in his name. It was plain to me that a positive religious character had been his from his childhood among the Moravians up, and that what he called in a technical way sensibility, was, when lifted up into the Christian consciousness, touched with the eternal love of God; and it grieved me sorely that the faith of so eminent a philosopher was so misunderstood. This sensibility of his was what faith is to love, what thought is to feeling, the second the cherishing guardian of the first."—pp. 139, 140.

A change was destined to come over the hitherto peaceful life of the professor. The cloud of war which had so long been gathering in the north of Germany suddenly burst in all its force on Prussia. The students at Halle would not believe, for a long time, that Napoleon intended to attack Prussia, and persuaded themselves that, were such a proceeding even contemplated, the attack would begin at the Rhine, and that the business of life at the University would go on undisturbed. Even when a division of the Prussian army was quartered at Halle, and it became clear that the enemy was at their very doors, so strong was their confidence in the invincibility of the Prussian arms that little anxiety was entertained as to the result of the impending battle. From this state of security they were soon to be rudely awakened. On the 16th of October, 1806, firing was heard in the neighborhood of Possendorf. From the walls of the city Steffens and his friends were enabled to overlook the contest. The result is given in his own words:

> "We could see the onset, the firing on both sides, the plunging charges of the cavalry, but all seemed indecisive to an unskilled observer, who could only follow the separate movements. So strangely blinded by Prussian prestige, and so confident in Prussian valor, were the most, that victory on the French side seemed impossible. 'The poor French,' said a brother professor at my side, 'I almost pity them; they are worn out, it is plain; poor fellows, a sad fate awaits them falling into the hands of our victorious soldiers.'
>
> "But this hallucination did not last long. The enemy pressed on in yet grander numbers, while our troops were flying before them. Soon all were in motion among us, and, full of fear, every one hurried to his home. My house, situated in a remote and not much frequented part of the city, was regarded by us all as unsafe, and we resolved to spend the time of greatest danger in Schleiermacher's house, in the middle of the city. We hastened our steps to rescue our child from our own home. We made the briefest possible stay in our house, but it was only too long. Mr. Gass, the friend referred to above, took Schleiermacher's sister in charge, Schleiermacher my wife, and I my child. We had to traverse the whole length of Great Ulrich's Street. We could hear the shots in the city, but in the streets there was perfect stillness. No one was to be seen, the houses were all locked; in only one place did I observe any one, and that was a man tearing down a sign which would be likely to draw the enemy to his store. When we came to the well-known turn in Great Ulrich's Street, just before it opens into the Market Place, we saw at a glance the danger which confronted us. The flight of the Prussian army was directly across the city; the whole Market Place was filled with cannon and with ammunition wagons, and in the streets which led from the Market Place down to the river we could hear the incessant firing. Our course was directly across this retreating mass. How we came through I cannot tell. We were so intent upon self-preservation that we observed nothing else. Enough that we stemmed the current safely. We were near the Merkur Street, where Schleiermacher lived. But just as I turned a corner which would hide the Market Place from further view, I glanced a moment at the scene of rout which we had just traversed, and to my amazement it was utterly empty. Troops and wagons had disappeared as by magic. By the time we had fairly entered one of the side streets the French came up. The shots whistled through the air close by us, and Bernadotte's advance guard rode by at full speed along one of the great streets in full view. They paid no attention to us; the retreating Prussian army was their sole object of pursuit."—pp. 151–153.

The University was closed by Napoleon, and the students dispatched to their homes. For two years Steffens was a wanderer. At the close of that period he was again at his post—no longer, however, in Prussia. Halle was now in the new kingdom of Westphalia, and the inhabitants were subjects of the new king, Jerome.

Although a Dane by birth, Steffens was more faithful to the country of his adoption than many of the Prussians themselves. When the hitherto victorious army of Napoleon met with its terrible reverses in Russia, he was among the first to call on the German youth to rise and bear arms for the liberation of their native land.

> "The twenty-ninth bulletin had appeared; every artful expression in it seemed to endeavor vainly to conceal the news of a total defeat. The vision of a wonderful agitated future rose in every mind with all its hopes and terrors; it was breathed out at first in tones scarcely audible; even those who had believed that unbridled ambition would find its check in the land which it had desolated, could not realize the horrible destruction of a victorious army—an army which had for fifteen years, with growing might, excited first the admiration, then the terror, and lastly the paralyzed dismay of all the continental nations, and which had at length been overtaken by a fearful judgment, more wonderful than its conquests. But the strange event was there; reports no longer to be doubted crowded in upon us; the distant voice approached; the portentous words sounded clearer and clearer, and at last the loud call to rise was shouted through the land. Then did the flood of feeling burst from hearts where it had been long pent up; fuller and freer did it flow; then the long-hidden love to king and country flamed brightly out, and the dullest minds were animated by the wild enthusiasm. Every one looked for a tremendous crisis, but the moment was not yet come for action, and while resting in breathless expectation, thousands and thousands became every hour stronger still to meet it."—p. 214.

King Frederick William called for a general arming, and Steffens, in a public lecture, exhorted the youth to respond, announcing his own determination to take his part and go in the ranks. Steffens' military career forms rather a *bathos* after his really grand efforts in the lecture-room. His course appears to have been a series of blunders; these he relates himself with a simplicity which amounts almost to humor. This episode in his life closed with the battle of Leipsic, of which he was an eye-witness, having taken part with General Langeron in the attack on Schönfeld.

After the battle of Leipsic, Steffens obtained his discharge, and resumed his academic duties. He concludes the account of his military career with the following anecdote of a rather amusing dilemma, in which he considers himself to have been involved, but which appears to have been principally of his own creating.

> "I must not omit to record my last dilemma. My passport had been made out to 'The Second Lieutenant and Professor Dr. Steffens.' I protested against the arrangement of these titles. I represented that I must stand by my real profession, and not that which I had only provisionally followed. I asked my kind friend who made out the passport whether, supposing the title of second lieutenant to be superior, I could in future designate myself Mr. Second Lieutenant without disparaging my academic office. After much discussion on the point, I made a proposal which would avoid the question of the precedence of my two characters, that instead of Mr. Second Lieutenant and Professor, etc., etc., I should be styled Second Lieutenant Mr. Professor, etc., etc. This was adopted, and the difficulty happily obviated."—p. 263.

In 1832 Steffens received a call to the University of Berlin, which had been for many years the object of his ambition. Then he takes leave of the reader in the following simple words:

> "The preparation of my autobiography has been one of the recreations of my declining years, for it is not without pleasure that I have gone back into the valley of past years, reviewed the scenes and the hopes of youth and early manhood, and recalled the faces and characters of those whom I have known and loved. Mine has been an eventful life, and passed in eventful days, and I trust that its story has not been a mere recreation to an old man, but to many a reader who loves the social and the scholarly life of Germany."

Educators, especially—all interested in education—will be much pleased with "German University Life." But there is no intelligent person who will not find it at once instructive and attractive.

SCIENCE.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded. By J. E. CAIRNES, M. A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. 8vo, pp. 421. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

THE science of Political Economy has been so frequently and ably expounded, that we are almost led to ask, "What need of another treatise?" It is no mean and easy thing to deal with a branch of knowledge that has engaged the most earnest thoughts of Aristotle, Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill. An examination of the work before us, however, will show the success of this attempt to "newly expound" the generally received principles of Political Economy. It is but just to say that, whilst the author simply claims to "strengthen" the "fabric" of the toil of others, he also joins "issue" with some of the most distinguished writers on the science.

The treatise contains three principal parts, viz.: Value, Labor and Capital, International Trade. Each of these embraces several subordinate parts of great importance to the student of the science. Under the heading of "Preliminary" there are some useful and just remarks on the strict meaning of certain words used in the terminology of economical science. For example, "value" and "utility" are strictly defined, and thus guarded against those tendencies to destroy their generally received and accurate meaning. It would be well if the importance of properly defining words were more generally recognized, or, at least, practised; for who does not know that a great deal of the strife, both ancient and modern, has arisen from ill defined words? We are therefore pleased to notice that Professor Cairnes devotes the necessary attention to this branch of the subject. There is a relative idea in the phrase "value." Whatever may be the definitions of different writers, as far as our research extends, they all embrace the cardinal idea of "exchange." Hence there has been but little or no difference in this matter except as to completeness, or the superiority of one definition acknowledgment that they are worthy of attention. The perusal of the whole work will show that Professor Cairnes has clearly grasped the leading principles of political economy, and has especially dealt with the protectionist doctrine in a fair and able manner.

Elements from Old Subjects. Presented as a Basis for a Science of Mind, etc., etc. By JOHN GASKELL. 8vo, pp. 176. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1874.

The author tells us that he contemplates in this work departing from Locke at the point where he gives us nothing of system respecting the relation of "sensation," "idea," and "thought." In other words, he claims to correlate these three, and thus form a system. The editor claims for the author the merit of originality as to the application of correlation to several particulars of the science of mind. The correlation is thus set forth in the following definitions of "Sensation," "Idea," and "Thought:"

> "A Sensation is an effect produced in any human or other being in such way that the effect is conveyed to the brain so as to cause reaction from the brain.
>
> An *Idea* is a connection of sensations in such way that a primary sensation and a secondary one become reciprocally relative to that which causes the primary sensation.
>
> A Thought, in the simplest condition, is a connection of ideas in such way that one is relative to another consecutively."—p. 5.

Some views worthy of notice are to be found under the heading of the "Correlation of the Subject, and the Object with their Connection in a Thought." "The Correlation of the Objective, the Subjective, and the Reflective of Knowledge." It will be sufficient to say that the principle of correlation runs through the whole of this part, and is ingeniously put. It may be pushed too far, but certainly the author gives good reasons for its general adoption.

It is a strange fact that so many nations differing in language agree in their mode of numbering by advancing to ten, and again to ten, in orderly steps to millions. Mr. Gaskell, in his treatment of the "Philosophy of Numeration," endeavors to explain this general harmony:

> "This question may appear of no obvious utility, whether for intellectual amusement or the acquisition of wealth, but I affirm that a correct answer to it will include a law of mind which governs our religious, our moral, and our political doctrines, as well as our mode of calculating dollars.—p. 10?.

It will at once be observed that the author of this work differs from the views of many distinguished writers on the origin of the decimal mode of numeration. He has no sympathy with the belief that man was accustomed to reckon with his ten fingers, and that thus the number ten became the basis of calculation. The view held by so many great investigators respecting the general use of ten is natural, and, in spite of the criticisms of this work, we are still inclined to hold to that view. Man would naturally find an arbitrary sign to represent his assumed mode of reckoning by his fingers, and we observe a general harmony in practice among children before they have advanced far in the science of numeration. But Mr. Gaskell's theory is worthy of attention, nevertheless. He says :

> "The above 9 figures (speaking of the English and Arabic numerals), from one succession, which includes a correlation of correlation, and this means a correlation of three threes ; and then we stop. We must begin now, not merely to correlate things numerically, but also to *arrange* them numerically. Accordingly, if we select the digit 1 to denote our first arrangement of numbers, and apply it thus, 10, we shall acquire the number ten, which denotes arrangement of numbers as well as the individual that denotes the arrangement numbered. Thus, we can easily conceive 10 as an arrangement *digited* by the digit 1 ; then, if we proceed onward, and consecutively digit consecutive arrangements to the full extent of digits, we shall arrive at 90, by using digit in a secondary manner."—p. 112.

From this extract it will be seen that the author carries the principle of correlation into the science of numbers in a novel manner. We cannot but express a wish that this part of the book especially may be carefully perused.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Manual of Universal Church History. By the Rev. Dr. JOHN ALZOG, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated with additions from the Ninth and last German Edition. By F. J. PABISCH and Rev. THOS. S. BYRNE, in Three Volumes, with Three Chronological Tables and Three Ecclesiastico-Geographical Maps. Volume 1. 8vo, pp. 779. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1874.

Although necessarily written from the standpoint of the author's own faith, this is a work of great value to the student of ecclesiastical history without reference to creed. The Professor comes to the front and unfurls his standard boldly at the very commencement of the work in the following words:

> " Religion is a condition to the existence of a Church, and, as such, must be the basis of Church History."—p. 1.

This leading principle is broadly set forth in what is styled the "Scientific Introduction," with which the work is prefaced. The Christian idea of a Church, as not merely a religious community, but a sacred organization established by Jesus Christ and his apostles to be the guardian of the faith and the refuge from destruction, forms the basis of the book.

The scientific is followed by an Historical Introduction, intended to illustrate the religious, moral and political condition of the Pagans and

Jews at the birth of Christ. Here, in a brief review of the various religions existing at that period, the author has shown how the Pagans of Greece and Rome had become dissatisfied with their popular beliefs, which they regarded as little better than myths, and were yearning for a new revelation. How, in the East, the Buddhists and Confucians looked forward to an expected redeemer; how the Hindoo awaited a human incarnation of Vishnu; how the Israelites were at that period expecting the promised Messiah, the time for whose advent, as calculated from the predictions of their prophets, they were fully persuaded was now at hand. They were aware that the two principal signs had been fulfilled. The seventy weeks of years spoken of by Daniel had expired, and the sceptre had now for the first time departed from Judah, when the crown was conferred by Augustus on Herod the Great.

> "Who can fail to recognize in these events the hand of Divine Providence preparing the world for the reception and propagation of Christianity? And who, reflecting on the happy consummation of the purposes of God, will not cry out in wonder and admiration with the Apostle of the Gentiles: 'God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy on all. O the depth of the riches, of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments and how unsearchable His ways.'" Rom. xi, 32-33.—p 132.

The history of the Church is divided by the author into three periods: 1st. From the foundation of the Christian Church to the end of the seventh century. 2d. From the commencement of the eighth century to the period of the Reformation. 3d. From the Reformation (or, as the author styles it, the Western Schism) to the present day. Only the first of these periods is treated in the present volume.

No history of the church should commence elsewhere than with its founder; and accordingly the first part of the work is devoted to Christ and the apostolic age. The first two chapters are historical, and are taken principally from the Bible, and such accounts as have come down to us of the labors of the apostles. The third chapter relates to the form and constitution of the Apostolic Church, and the distinctions, primarily, of the clergy and laity, and secondarily of the three orders of ministry in the church. The Scriptural character of the episcopacy is strongly argued as well as its distinction from the presbytery with which it has been confounded; but it strikes us that the author has overlooked one of the strongest arguments in favor of his position, viz., the evidence contained in the first Epistle to Timothy. No candid reader of this Epistle can doubt that Timothy (therein styled *επίσκοποσ*), was appointed by Paul over the entire Church at Ephesus; and that there were presbyters under him appears from the fifth chapter, in which he, as bishop, receives instructions as to the course to be observed with an elder (*πρεςβυτερον*). St. James in like manner (ch. 4, 14), speaks of the *elders* of the Church in terms which show that there were more than one in each church; whereas no church had ever more than one bishop. The summary of the doctrine of the Apostles is very clearly and succinctly set forth at the conclusion of Part 1.

> "The Apostles, in obedience to the command of Christ, 'Go forth and *teach* all nations,' began their work by proclaiming to the world the three great fundamental truths of the Christian religion, the *Incarnation* of the Son of God, *His Death and Resurrection*, to which they added instructions on the necessity of *faith in God*, *penance* for sin, and *justification by faith*, and gave explanations of baptism conferred in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and of the meaning of the laying on of hands. They followed these up with a clear statement of the doctrine relative to the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection from the dead, and final judgment. In these doctrines were essentially and formally contained all the articles of belief embodied in the *Symbol of Faith* known as the *Apostle's Creed*, and which, based upon Apostolic tradition, was given to the world at a later date."—p. 230.

The account of the various heresies which distracted the early Church is abundantly full and interesting. The earliest heretics, the Gnostics and Manichæans, can hardly be said to have been Christians at all. They appear to have had theogonies and gospels of their own invention, in which the Scriptural revelation formed but a part (and in many instances but a small part) of the system of their creed. Even the earlier heretics that grew up within the Church (the Montanists and the Alogi) seem to have had little credence in scriptural revelation, but relied on pretended inspirations of their own. One noticeable fact put forward in this History is that the Arian was by no means the first heresy which denied the doctrine of the Trinity. This was disputed as early as the third century by the Ebionites (prominently represented by Paul of Samosata) who denied the divinity of Christ, and, also, by the Patripassionists (represented by Sabellins, and sometimes called Sabellians), who denied his separate personality, asserting that the Father had himself suffered in the flesh.

Notwithstanding the fierce opposition which the Church encountered from without, and the heresies and schisms by which it was distracted within, its propagation through Europe and Asia, during the first three centuries, was steady and rapid; and, on its recognition by Constantine in the early part of the fourth century, its victory over paganism seemed complete. Even the apostacy of Julian was, in the words of St. Athanasius, "but a passing cloud," and under the successors of that emperor paganism appears to have disappeared from the cities of the Roman Empire. But fresh trials were in store for the Church. As her external adversaries diminished internal adversaries arose. Professor Alzog, in the portion of the work devoted to what he calls the Second Epoch of the first period, *i. e.*: the epoch commencing with the Edict of Pacification under Constantine, has given a highly interesting and instructive account of the heresies which arose during that interval and the develwithdrew it, so that she came in confusion to the floor. In her mortification she turned upon him and said: "When I married you I supposed that I was marrying a king, whereas I find that I have married a lazzarone." Whereupon, by way of climax, he slapped her face before the whole assembly."—p. 26.

The above anecdote is one of a singularly small number when we consider the ostensible purpose of the book. A volume which proposes to introduce us to Thackeray and Dickens, Washington Irving and the Ettrick Shepherd, and to a host of *notabilités*, literary and otherwise, as well as to the prominent royal personages of the last thirty years, might be expected to abound with anecdotes of their sayings and doings—incidents in their lives which are characteristic of the men, or at least possess an interest as connected with their fortunes—and even impressions of their personal appearance and general deportment. It would be impossible, we should think, to be long in the society of Thackeray, for instance, without becoming the recipient of some *bon-mot*, some profound thought veiled in living language, which has not become the property of the public, and would, if told, impart a charm to the pages in which he is introduced; but in these respects the volume before us is absolutely *nil*. Of Thackeray, for example, we are told little more than that he spoke of a young lady as "a devilish good fellow."

> "He then took out his watch, said that it was late, and that he must go home. 'To-morrow,' he said, 'I have to accompany a lady to Church. In the afternoon I go to Philadelphia. When I arrive there, I mean to go directly to the club, and forthwith begin to intoxicate myself.' "—p 215.

Surely, after an intercourse of any extent with such a man as Thackeray, some better reminiscence than this might have been preserved.

Where such is the treatment accorded to one of the giants of the age, it is not to be expected that other authors should fare much better; Dickens is avowedly the object of Mr. Field's aversion, and what little is told of him would not of course be calculated to elevate him in our opinion; but of Washington Irving, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, Samuel Lover, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and even Macaulay, to all of whom we are in turn introduced, we are told little or nothing which will cause us to feel that we are more at home with them, or that our knowledge of them is increased by the fact that Mr. Field has been in their society.

We have dwelt at some length on this defect, because, in reading Mr. Field's book, we have been strongly impressed with the fact that, even when dealing with the names of the most public and general interest, anecdotes to be told should be worth the telling, reminiscences should be of qualities or incidents in some way characteristic, and that little advantage is obtained by their introduction unless the reader's as well as the writer's familiarity with them is to profit thereby.

A desultory work like the present, dealing with a variety of characters, can, however, be made entertaining by varied and spirited sketches of individuals, concerning whom the public curiosity is sufficiently slight to be gratified by a lively, if superficial, portraiture of the impressions produced by them on a casual interview. In this respect Mr. Field has been not unsuccessful. His style is vivacious and easy—he has evidently a keen eye for the ludicrous, and can place a grotesque figure before the eye of the reader with the vivacity of a *genre* painter. Take, for instance, the following sketch of one of the royal personages whom he encountered on his first visit to Europe:

> "I came upon a very singular person during my visit to Turin. I was one day sitting alone in the dining-room of my hotel, waiting for my dinner to be served. There were a great many ladies and gentlemen in the room at the same time, either dining or expecting to dine. Presently there entered a very tall young man, dressed, or rather over-dressed, in the most *outré* Paris fashion, who seated himself at a round table, hitherto unoccupied, which stood between two windows which opened upon the street. His first act was to roll up a napkin into a ball and throw it at the head of a waiter in a distant part of the room, for the purpose of attracting his attention. Shortly afterward, he was joined by two young officers, in uniform, and I observed a deference in their manner toward him which strangely compared with his ill-bred conduct. Every few minutes, he would spring from his seat, rush to one of the windows, shout to some passer-by at the top of his voice, and wave a napkin, as if in salutation. All the time, he talked so loud as to drown all other conversation in the room. I noticed that the ladies smiled behind their fans ; but neither their gentleman companions nor the people of the hotel seemed to pay any attention to his eccentricities. After dinner, I went for a walk to the public promenade. I had been sauntering about for some time, when I saw approaching an English drag drawn by four magnificent horses. In the inside were three military gentlemen, and lying upon the roof at full length, his long legs dangling over on one side, and his head extended beyond the other, was the strange young man whom I had seen at dinner. There was a crowd of pedestrians, and as the drag rolled on, he kissed his hand and fluttered a pocket handkerchief at the ladies. I knew nobody there, and I did not venture to ask who he was. But after I had returned to the hotel, I went straight to the proprietor and inquired about him. He informed me that he was the HEREDITARY GRAND DUKE OF LUCCA and nephew to CHARLES ALBERT, to whose pious care his father had entrusted him. The King at first gave him apartments in the royal palace, but he conducted himself so outrageously that it soon became necessary to send him adrift. He was the scandal of all decent people in Turin. He had been turned out of many of the best houses for his shameful behavior. He had ever so many horses of his own, but he seldom drove any but hired ones. He would sometimes come to the hotel at noon and order a dinner for forty to be ready at night. He would never descend the palace stairs by walking down like other mortals, but always slid down the baluster like an untamed school-boy."—pp. 22-23.

By the side of such a Grand Duke, the vagaries of the Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein appear credible and natural.

The various public offices which Mr. Field has held both at home and abroad have enabled him to see numerous phases of society, and familiarized him with many prominent persons, whose names are to most Americans either unknown, or known only through books. In the work before us he has assembled them altogether for the entertainment of the reader; and, although we would gladly have recognized a little more thought and discrimination in his treatment of the names of those whose works have rendered them dear to us, and perhaps not a little less egotism and love of fine names and sounding titles for their own sake, we may still welcome a readable book, in which old and new friends are brought before us, and which will doubtless fill many an unemployed hour agreeably.

Present Status of Social Science. A Review, Historical and Critical, of the Progress of Thought in Social Philosophy. By ROBERT S. HAMILTON. 18mo, pp. 332. New York: Henry L. Hinton & Co. 1874.

WE should feel sadly puzzled if called upon to review a work which should start with the assertion that "A straight line is the longest distance between two given points," or, "The part is greater than the whole." Our first impulse would naturally be to cast the book aside as unworthy of notice—our second, perhaps, to examine the work carefully, and endeavor to discover if its perusal would elicit any profound or hidden truth veiled under this seemingly self-contradicting proposition.

We must confess that we were impressed in a very similar manner when, on opening the present work, we found ourselves confronted with the following announcement:

> "For we do not know, we have not yet learned, how to begin our work properly, until we have already half finished it—nay, nearly completed it—in so far, indeed, as human effort ever completes any work. We have to finish our treatise before we discern clearly how it should have been commenced, and then only are we duly prepared to write the introduction, which seldom fails to suggest a remodelling of the whole work."—p. 1.

We have honestly made the endeavor, by a further perusal of the introduction, to discover the profound truth which might underlie this remarkable aphorism; but, encountering little more than the continued repetition of the same assertion in language more or less varied, we have concluded to leave it to the sagacity of the reader who undertakes the perusal of the volume, and to limit ourselves to an endeavor to ascertain the real object of the work, and to what extent its acknowledged purposes have been carried out by the author.

The design of the work, so far as we can ascertain, is to establish the principle that all the existing systems of thought in Social Philosophy are wrong, or at least insufficient, and to set forth a new system which shall supply the defects of all that have gone before.

The three systems of thought which the author recognizes as embracing all the recognized principles of Social Philosophy are, first, the Political, which attributes the social ills of mankind to some error or omission in the government or political organism, or in the social organism of society; second, the Political-Economical, which attributes these ills to some misapprehension of the laws of wealth; and third, the Malthusian (which the author gravely informs us originated with Malthus), which attributes them to a misapprehension of the laws of population.

The essential insufficiency of these systems of thought having been predicated, and a couple of chapters devoted to their annihilation, the author proceeds to consider the more advanced ideas of previous authors before proceeding to develop his own, which are, he informs us, in entire accordance with those more advanced ideas. These ideas he expresses, as he says, briefly and sententiously in seven propositions.

Having discoursed on these various propositions at considerable length, our author indulges in a brief retrospect of the wisdom of antiquity as manifested by Confucius and Solon, and proceeds to a critical review of the writers on social philosophy in modern times. After a tolerably extended discussion of their views—in all of which he finds a great deal to contradict, notwithstanding his previous assertion that they are fully in accordance with his own—our author arrives at last, very near the close of the book, at a distinct statement of his own aim. His theory of social philosophy, as far as we can gather from what has gone before, is that as man creates his own government, and organizes his own society, it is only by elevating his intellectual and moral condition that any social reform can be effected, and that all efforts should, therefore, be directed to the improvement of man as his individual character, and not as the social mass.

How far this is practicable or probable, the reader may judge for himself on a perusal of the work. That the author, however, is not very hopeful of the result is plain from the following remarks, in which, for the first time, we are made aware of the aim that he proposes, and what he considers the probabilities of its success:

> "Comte and Spencer, though more especially the former, aim at the improvement of society—the author of this work aims merely at the improvement of the ideas or knowledge of men in regard to society. They aim at reforming the morals of the world—he at merely reforming the intelligence of the world. They hope, at least, and expect some radical improvement of the morals of the world—being altogether too great philosophers not to perceive that such improvement must come, if it come at all, in the natural order of "progress" or "evolution"—that it must come as "a natural growth," as Spencer has so clearly and beautifully shown. The author of this work hardly dares hope for such improvement, much less expect it."—p. 274.

We have hardly allowed ourselves time to go into the merits of Mr. Hamilton's theories, nor are we disposed to discuss with him the opinions which are expressed in the extraordinary denunciation of the American people and of the war for the Union with which he has favored us in Chapter XIII. Still, we may humbly trust that something better is in store for us than the terrible destruction with which he threatens us in the following words:

> "Actæor may call on his trained dogs to desist. But it will be all in vain after he has lost the control. Nor will his unavailing cries save him from the doom of being devoured by his own hounds."—p. 304.

We fear that this work will hardly elucidate, to the satisfaction of the world, the much-vexed problem of social science. This might be a subject of regret, had the author originally contemplated effecting some practical result. But, as he has himself candidly admitted the hopelessness of achieving any of the desired reforms, he stands in the position of one who has merely tendered to the world an intellectual solution of some questions which have puzzled many of its wisest heads, and may console himself for any want of appreciation with the following bit of philosophy:

> "'Tis not in mortals to command success;
> I have done more, my public, I've deserved it!"

ERRATA.

It is but rarely we notice the errors of the press after the matter in which they occur has been printed off. In nine cases out of ten we omit to do so, partly because we know that every intelligent person is aware that no journal half the size of ours, of which all the "copy" is manuscript, is ever published without containing more or less of such; and partly because every reader of the same character can readily understand that the error is not that of the writer. Need we say that it is not alone in publications printed from manuscript, whether legible or illegible, that the most ludicrous and most mortifying mistakes are alternately made by our friends the printers. Even the Bible forms no exception. The most carefully printed editions of the Scriptures ever issued—editions revised by bishops, archbishops, and even by popes—have been disfigured by the most provoking, or most amusing typographical blunders.

Accordingly, no educated person who knows anything of the "art preservative" ever abuses an editor, or author, because a word is incorrectly printed. But, unhappily, we have to do, sometimes, for our sins, with persons who, while affecting the most profound learning, have in fact no education beyond the merest smattering, and who are still more wanting in candor and moral honesty.*

Thus, for example, most of our readers will remember that in our criticism on the University of Pennsylvania the name Quintilian was printed for Quintilius. Several times we sent back the proof for correction, but in vain. And this was the chief case made out against us by the learned Provost, aided by the whole Faculty and *alumni* of that famous University! The criticisms of one who, like us, would confound Quintilian with Quintilius, could not, of course, avail against so learned an institution as the University of Pennsylvania!

But lately Provost Stillé and his mob of retainers have been surpassed in this sort of thing by the Rev. Head-Master of "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." Will it be believed that one of the means had recourse to by this reverend person in the threatening letter by which he tries to intimidate us, so that we shall not dare to criticise him,* is to inform us that we don't know how to spell "Catalogue ?" Among other things for which we are to be "exposed" is this. What, then, is blackmail, if such threats as his be not a species of it ? Yet we do not condemn him; still less do we cherish any ill-will against him, for we regard him as too much like Cowper's Housewife—

"With little understanding and no wit."

But for the benefit of such head-masters, provosts, etc., we beg leave to mark the following errors, only premising that, if the curious reader find others in his researches, we have no objection to his sending them, as promptly as he likes, to our head-master friends:

At page 352, for *Baaline* read *Baalim*.

Same page, for *ex omne genere* read *ex omni genere*.

At pages 360, 361, for *Horn* read *Home*.

At page 363, for *Schleinmacher* read *Schleiermacher*.

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* See Article "Our Educators ; A Model Head-Master," in present number.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE : GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

Reports of Insurance Superintendents, Insurance Commissioners, etc., etc.

Our remarks on Insurance must necessarily be desultory on the present occasion; we have to entirely disregard "the unities" both of time and place. At the same time, we think we can promise such of our readers as are directly interested in the subject that, if they will give us their attention for half an hour or so, they will not be altogether dissatisfied with the result; for, although we only propose to ourselves an easy, off-hand chat in the present paper, it must not be supposed that we have neglected to study the facts. In no instance do we lay any claim to infallibility, but it is equally true that in no instance do we make an important assertion without feeling morally certain, from careful examination and research, that we are at least approximately correct; as nearly correct as the nature of the subject, and the difficulties which surround it, would admit.

We have recently received several letters requesting us to mention some of the suits referred to in our last, as illustrative of the course sometimes pursued by the Mutual Life, the New York Life, and certain other companies that have grown rich on the plan of obtaining from the public as much money as possible, and returning to it as little of it as possible. We have remarked, on various occasions, that sometimes the widow applies in vain for the amount of the policy on her husband's death. The company refuses on the ground that he was a drunkard; on the ground that he committed suicide; or on the ground that he had been a rebel, &c. In our March number we presented, as a sample, the case of Mrs. J. W. Smith against the Charter Oak Life, and showed that the judgment of the court was against the company, although it tried hard to prove that Smith was an intemperate person as well as a rebel.

We had before us at the time the suit of Terry *vs.* The Mutual Life, but did not deem it necessary to quote it. The company refused to pay the widow on the ground that her husband had committed suicide. She had to sue for the amount ($2,000), and the court gave judgment in her favor. The company appealed ; and the case was again tried before the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Kansas, which affirmed the judgment of the court below, so that the widow had finally to get her money, but not until a considerable proportion of it was consumed in suing for it. When a very glaring case of this kind occurs —one that has attracted much attention and excited public indignation against the company—the insurance organs are expected to gloss the thing over as much as possible. Accordingly, we can refer those who wish orthodox authority as to the main facts, to the Spectator for June, 1873.

In the same number of that journal there is a similar report of the case of Sands *vs.* The New York Life, the ground of refusing to pay in this instance being, that the policy was nullified by the war. Here, too, there was an appeal; and it was tried, not in any Southern State or city, but in the Supreme Court of New York. Judge Peckham delivered the judgment of the court, which was to the effect that the rebellion did not nullify the policy, nor was it nullified by the fact that the person on whose life it was given was a rebel. If finally the company was forced to pay, it is easy to understand that, as in the cases of the Mutual Life and Charter Oak, a large percentage of the amount of the policy went into the pockets of the lawyers and law officers.

One other illustration of the wonderful "beneficence" of the New York Life, and we are done with it for the present. In this instance, also, we quote from an insurance organ for the reason already mentioned; at least, we quote what has been adopted by one, only premising that we have to return our thanks to the publisher, not only for cheerfully permitting us to examine his files, but courteously affording us every possible facility for doing so. In the number of the Spectator for May, 1874, the case alluded to is introduced as follows:

"DOES DEATH CAUSED BY INTEMPERANCE VITIATE A LIFE POLICY?

"The Cincinnati *Gazette* contains the following reference to a life insurance suit which involved a large amount of money ($22,700), and brought into adjudication the question of the use of liquors and opium as medicines in connection with the validity of a life insurance policy:

"Harriet La Boyteaux *vs.* The New York Life Insurance Company. As stated in a previous report this was a suit upon three policies of insurance issued upon the life of the plaintiff's husband, La Fayette La Boyteaux, by the defendants. During the trial of the case, the defendants abandoned their first ground of defence—namely, that the policies were voided by the false representations of the temperate habits of the deceased, and relied upon the ground that death was caused by the use of intoxicating liquors and opium. Evidence was introduced on the part of the plaintiff tending to show that the deceased met his death from unskillful treatment, neglect, and overdose of opium, while lying sick in New Orleans of a disease from which he was then recovering. The court, in charging the jury, held that if a policy is, by its provisions, to be void, if the insured shall die by reason of intemperance in the use of intoxicating liquors, it must appear that intemperance is the paramount and approximate cause of death. If the insured gets drunk, and dies from it, though by proper attendance and medical skill, he might have recovered, he dies from the use of intoxicating drink. Being neglected does not make him any the less dying from that cause. But, if he gets drunk, and would recover but for medicines administered, instead of helping, kill him, in his condition, then he does not die from the use of intoxicating drink but from another cause. The use of intoxicating liquors or opium contemplated in these policies is the voluntary use by the insured to such an excessive degree as to cause death, and has no reference to the administration of either or both to the insured when sick from any cause, as medicines, though medical administration may cause death.

This use, if within the letter, is not within the spirit or meaning of that clause. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff for the amount claimed, with interest, $22,700."

Companies who have justice and right on their side have but little to fear, even if they are sued. Both judges and juries are, to a great extent, discarding the prejudices which they used to entertain against insurance companies; that is, if we assume it to be true that they have not been misrepresented in this respect. Of several cases recently reported, in which insurance companies were sued without sufficient grounds, and in which judgment has been delivered in their favor, we select two as illustrations: one is that of Howard *vs.* the Continental Life, of this city; the other that of Mary C. Busby *vs.* The North American Life, also of this city. In the former case, the plaintiff got judgment, but the defendant, conscious that wrong had been done it, appealed, and the judgment of the court below was reversed. A sufficient idea of the drift of the case may be had from the following concluding extract from the judgment of the Court of Appeals of California:

> "Primarily, the whole of the annual premium was payable in advance. Passing the other incidents, the consideration for the policy was the payment of the whole of this premium; if it was not paid, the policy was to lapse. But the assured had the option (the company consenting) to pay thrice-yearly in advance. In the first case, there was to be no obligation to pay the sum insured unless the whole premium was paid; in the second, no such obligation unless each thrice-yearly payment was made as it became due. In both cases, the company was entitled to receive the whole annual premium as the consideration for insurance during the year. Such was the contract, and we see nothing inequitable in its terms. The subtraction of the installments, which would have been due if the assured had continued to live, was the only way in which the company could be placed in a like position, with respect to the assured, to that they occupied with respect to others who had paid the whole of the annual premium in advance."

The case against the North America was somewhat similar, but more complicated. The latter came before the Maryland Court of Appeals at its last (April) term. An extract or two from the opinion of the Court, delivered by Judge Alvey, will place our readers in possession of the main facts. We take these pains because there are a great many who still think that no matter how much policy-holders may violate their part of the contract, they will be pretty sure to obtain a verdict if they sue. But we quote:

> "The policy sued on was issued in 1869 by the appellee, an insurance company located and doing business in the City of New York, having a branch office in the City of Baltimore. Its branch office was in charge of a general agent, who does not appear to have had any authority to issue policies in the name of the appellee, but he received applications for policies, and received from the home office in New York executed policies, to be delivered to the parties insured, and he was authorized to receive premiums upon delivery of policies, and renewal premiums upon delivery of receipts executed and furnished from the home office. The contract

between the appellant and appellee, which is evidenced by the policy, was made directly between the parties thereto, without reference to the authority of the agent.

"Among the terms and stipulations of the policy, and with reference to which the contract was made, are the following: 'And it is also understood and agreed by the assured that, in case the said premium shall not be paid on or before the date hereinbefore mentioned for the payment thereof, then, and in every such case, the said company shall not be liable for the payment of the sum assured, or any part thereof, and this policy shall cease and determine.' 'The premiums are always due on the several days stipulated in the policy, and all risk to the company commences at the time of the actual payment of the first premium, without regard to the date of the policy (unless otherwise stipulated in the policy), and continues until the day named in the policy for the payment of the next premium, at 12 o'clock, noon (or within thirty days thereafter), and no longer. No premium will be received by the company, continuing any risk, after the day named in the policy for the payment of such premium, or within thirty days thereof, unless the insured is in perfect health, and the risk continued at the entire option of the company, and no payment of premium is binding on the company unless the same is acknowledged by a printed receipt, signed by an officer of the company. All receipts of the company at any time for premiums past due, except as above, are viewed by the parties in interest as acts of courtesy of the company, and in no case to be considered a precedent, or a waiver or the forfeiture of the policy, according to the conditions expressed therein.'

"Premiums had all been paid and receipted for until that due on the 20th of June 1872, and this last premium was paid to the general agent in Baltimore, on the 28th of June, 1872, and at the time a receipt in the usual form given, as of the date of the 21st of June, 1872. The amount of the premium thus received by the agent was remitted by him to the appellee, on or about the 1st of July following, in the regular course of business, without any communication, however, of the fact that it had been received of the appellant, after the time when it was due by the terms of the policy. The husband of the appellant, on whose life the policy was issued, died on the 14th of July, 1872."

A very important principle is involved in this case. Very few, if any, insurance companies authorize their agents to renew lapsed policies on any conditions; those, therefore, who pay premiums to agents after their policies have lapsed, according to the terms of the contract, do so at their own risk, for such late premiums do not bind the companies. On this subject the Maryland Court of Appeals proceeds:

"The principle seems to be well settled that, where the authority of the agent does not extend to making a new contract of insurance, he cannot waive a forfeiture and revive a contract that has expired. This question is decided in a well-considered case in the Supreme Court of Connecticut, where it was held, in an action on a life policy which declared that it was not to be binding until countersigned by the agent and delivered and the advanced premium paid, and these were the only words expressive of the agent's authority, that he was not authorized to accept a subsequent premium after the time at which the policy expired by reason of the non-payment of such premium at the proper time (Bouton *vs.* the Amer. Mut. Life Ins. Co., 25 Conn. 542). The court, in the course of its opinion in that case, said: 'We think that he (the agent) was not empowered to receive any premium which was not paid according to the requirements of the policy—that is, in advance. That instrument was his sole guide in regard to what he should do under it. The contract was made by the defendants, and not by him, excepting in the capacity o their agent, he was not authorized to alter or vary it, or depart in any respect from it, or dispense with the fulfillment of its conditions by the insured, or discharge it or revive it after it had, by its term, ceased to be obligatory on his principal by a waiver of a compliance with its provisions or otherwise. These must be done by the parties to the contract. He was only authorized to act in pursuance of it, and then so far only as it gave him authority. He could exercise only the power delegated to him, and no power is delegated to him to depart from the terms of the policy.'"

These were chiefly the reasons that influenced the court before which the case was first tried to give a verdict in favor of the company. Indeed, no other verdict or judgment would have been just or fair. So thought the Court of Appeals, which affirms the judgment of the court below as follows:

> "Upon the whole case we are clearly of opinion that the court below committed no error in granting the instruction to the jury that there was no evidence before them upon which they could find that the forfeited policy had ever been revived."

Even this brief outline of the two cases shows clearly that the Continental and the North America entered court with right and fairness on their side. But can the same be said of the cases of the New York Life and Mutual Life referred to above ?

Doubtless, many of our readers remember some of the onslaughts which the insurance organs used to make on us regularly after the issue of each number of the National Quarterly. They evidently thought they could frighten us—at least, they persuaded their employers they could. But now, for some years past, they have kindly let us alone. We are much obliged for their "forbearance," although it would make no particular difference to us whether they abused us or not. We confess we rather prefer, however, to see that they now devote their chief attention to vilifying each other.

With two or three exceptions, each insurance editor denounces all his scores of brethren as scoundrels, liars, blackmailers, &c., &c.* As for any new parties who attempt to criticise an insurance company that "does the right thing" for the "insurance press," wo be to them, whether they be "outside editors" or insurance superintendents, insurance commissioners, &c., &c.

We have several illustrations of this now before us, but one or two will be sufficient for our purpose. It seems the insurance commissioner for California has made some unfavorable remarks on a concern called the World Mutual Life—an affair the moribund character of which we have indicated on several occasions in these pages. We know nothing, whatever, of this commissioner, never heard of the man before. In giving the following brief extract from a long article in the Insurance Times for the present month, in the largest type of that journal, we merely want to present a sample of the sort of "criticism" made by our insurance editor.

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* Thus, for example, the Philadelphia branch of the fraternity is complimented by the Insurance Times as follows :

"Well it may, for in that provincial town there are now no less than seven regular insurance journals, besides *countless daily and weekly vampires*, which are quite as hungry as the others, but whose business is not confined to preying upon insurance companies."

"A DESPICABLE INSURANCE COMMISSIONER.

"The majority of political blackguards, whose unscrupulous partisanship has secured them profitable positions under government, have sense and decency enough to pay an external regard to official decorum. While discharging the duties of their office they put their brutal instincts and habits under some restraint, and reserve their profanity and ruffianism for the bar-room, groggery, gambling-hell, or other congenial haunt, where they are at home and in their natural element. But Insurance Commissioner Foard, of California, disdains to thus belie himself. He is no respecter of persons, places, or proprieties. His intense coarseness and vulgarity are in the grain, and display themselves on all occasions. He has no more conception of official dignity than the swine have of poetic sublimity."

This may seem rather rough, but it is mild and courteous compared to some passages which occur farther on as the writer warms up in his righteous indignation. And be it remembered that the Insurance Times ranks among the "most respectable" and "most influential" of the insurance press, and that, in the sort of "literary ability" the quack companies want and appreciate, in their organ it has no superior.

Before entering into any particulars, comparing the good with the bad or the indifferent, we will quote a passage or two from the report of our state superintendent, which did not reach us in time for examination in our last number. We do not regard Mr. Chapman as by any means a profound thinker on the subject of life insurance; at the same time, some of his views claim attention, not that they will be new to our readers, but because they are just. We will not ask any one to remember whether we have not again and again, during the past decade, made similar remarks and suggestions; nor shall we desire it to be borne in mind how often it has been pretended, by the parties chiefly interested, that we did them grievous injustice. The following passage will speak for itself:

"DISSOLUTION—AMALGAMATION—RECUPERATION.

"During the year eight active New York life insurance companies were examined by this Department. Such examinations, in some instances, brought up very embarrassing questions. The Superintendent found himself face to face with these: Should the company be placed in the hands of a receiver? Ought it to be reinsured? Can it recuperate if neither of these courses be taken? Receivership, amalgamation, recuperation; these were the alternatives.

"The strict letter of the law in some cases indicated the first course, and left no discretion. It was necessarily obeyed, no matter what the consequences. But it is believed that in no other way are the interests of policy holders affected so injuriously as in this. Emphatically, in the case of a Life insurance corporation, where the equities are so variable, and where so many new and unsettled questions may call for the decision of the highest courts, a receivership is Death. After the worms are through with their work, there is nothing left but dust. It is indeed the last possible thing to be contemplated, and yet, like hanging, it may be sometimes a necessity. Every thing else, which the law permits, should be tried first, however, unless the future gives no promise of hope.

"But little better is amalgamation. *History indicates this to be the marriage of disease to health*, or of one *disease to another*, more often than otherwise *the latter*. Exceptions, of course, have existed, but it has been too frequently *a foul and adulterous connection*—a union of *imbecility with debauchery*. Pecuniary considerations are sometimes presumed to equalize differences, but if paid to officers or brokers how fraudulent, and even if to the company, *how fatal, alas, experience too plainly teaches !*"

Long before Mr. Chapman occupied his present position we had many a time warned our readers against the consequences indicated in the above extract. But let us hear him further:

"But there are cases of consumption, which can by any possibility walk but one path, and *that leads only to the grave.* There is a 'rate of mortality' which no '*interest on investments*' can overcome. So, too, there may be instances where *fraud has impregnated the whole corporate system as with scrofula*, which in some form, soon or late, is sure to prove fatal. Annual statements *falsely made*, and given character *by perjury*, whenever such is the case, if ever, would be symptoms of this disease. In both of these cases, the sooner the end comes the better for all concerned. A corporation hopelessly insolvent has no right, not merely to take new risks, but to hold out to its insured *false and delusive hopes in order to obtain premiums upon the old.* Officers are faithless to their trusts, if there are any such, who, possessed of a knowledge of the certainty of dissolution, continue to solicit new or renewal premiums. And there is no excuse for want of knowledge. They are dealing with the most sacred of obligations. They are bound to know if there is a chance of repudiation, and to stop doing new business in season. Upon them should be visited *all the ignominy of a failure*, if, *for the sake of a few dollars of salary*, they continue for a single day *to rob the widow and orphan.*"

This needs no comment from us. There is not one of twenty-five volumes—fifty numbers—of this journal which does not contain the portraitures, in miniature or life size, of just such "officers" as Mr. Chapman alludes to; that is, officers who "falsely" make annual statements, "given character *by perjury*," who hold out "false and delusive hopes *in order to obtain premiums*," who, in a word, "rob the widow and orphan."

We must now take leave abruptly of the New York Report, and give what attention we can to the Massachusetts Report. In turning over the leaves of the latter we find we shall have to confine our remarks to its analytical tables. Some of these are highly instructive and significant, although rather meagre. As a whole, it is greatly inferior to the reports we used to get from Mr. Elizur Wright and his immediate successor. Still, that before us should open the eyes of many—indeed the eyes of all who are not hopelessly blind.

Comparing the Massachusetts companies with each other, as they stand in the annual report of the Massachusetts commissioner, we find some significant periods of figures—periods which, it will be seen, fully prove the correctness of comparisons we have heretofore made in these pages on more than one occasion. It may be remembered we have said on several occasions that the New England Mutual enjoys the public confidence to a greater extent, has the means of doing more good, and really does more good, than all the other Massachusetts companies put together.

By this we do not mean to disparage the other companies of that enlightened, industrious and energetic commonwealth; but simply to show that in this as well as in other comparisons we were guided by the facts as we proved them in our researches, and that, whatever may have been supposed to the contrary—whatever has been pretended by those whom our comparisons do not suit—we indulged in no exaggeration.

In order to place this beyond cavil, we will make a little table of our own. We are not a very skilful mechanic, it is true, but we have a tolerable idea of the proportion which the different parts of a structure should bear to each other; if not, we have no objection that our ignorance in the matter be exposed. Well, in the good State of Massachusetts there are five life companies. We will place four of these side by side, with certain of their periods of figures, respectively, thus:

	Total Assets.	Surplus as regards Policy Holders.
Berkshire, - - - - - - - -	$2,517,368.68	$178,253.65
John Hancock, - - - - - - -	2,545,357.40	43,307.23
Massachusetts Mutual, - - - - - -	4,982,392.03	410,022.96
State Mutual, - - - - - - -	1,624,285.48	230,584.78
Total, - - - - - - - -	$11,669,403.59	$862,668.62
New England Mutual, - - - -	$12,665,119.81	$1,340,122.81

This shows that the New England Mutual has considerably *more* assets and a *larger* surplus fund than the other four companies put together. Our readers need not be informed at this day that there is no company anywhere more judiciously or more ably managed than the New England Mutual. It is now in its thirtieth year. The gentleman who manages it has been connected with it since the first day of its existence. Several years ago he succeeded, in its presidency, Judge Phillips, who had been editor of the North American Review, and whose writings on insurance are still highly valued in Europe as well as in this country. President Stevens is also a thoughtful and vigorous writer. No one understands the principles of life insurance more thoroughly than he; at the same time, no one is more assiduous and indefatigable in seeking information on the subject wherever it is to be found. In illustration of this we may remark, in passing, that Mr. Stevens is at this moment in England observing the working of the principal life companies there.

No company has been less affected by the "panic," or by the temporary revulsion against life insurance, caused by those mock underwriters who have so much abused the public confidence, than the Manhattan Life. Its earnest, faithful labor for twenty-four years in the good cause, without the slightest blemish on its reputation, has had its effect on the American people, who, whatever may be their faults or shortcomings, are ever disposed to award merit in any form its appropriate reward; but especially that merit which is based on unswerving integrity and fidelity to duty. The Manhattan affords a striking and interesting illustration of the fact that none can be seriously injured in this country by the envious or jealous calumnies of their rivals, or by the false representations of their enemies, as long as they remain faithful to the duties they assume to perform, and persist in working intelligently in that spirit. The figures in the last Massachusetts report exhibit the company in the most favorable light as a "period" or two will show. Thus, for instance, quiet as the Manhattan keeps, unpretending as it is, the number of its policies in force at the close of the last fiscal year was 13,085, insuring forty-two millions ($42,000,529). At the same time its assets amounted to nearly nine millions ($8,875,984.51), and its surplus as "regards policy-holders" to considerably more than a million ($1,254,947.48), its income for 1873 exceeding two millions ($2,128,071.05). None capable of judging, who know the three principal officers of the Manhattan, wonder that the company is thus solid and prosperous But it has, also, two general agents, than whom none understand the principal of life insurance better, or are disposed to carry out those principles in the plenitude of their beneficence more faithfully.

But let us make a little comparison *more nostro.* The Equitable announces in large capitals surrounding a large cut of its "granite palace Assets twenty-three millions" ($23,000,000), Annual Income ten millions ($10,000,000). The Manhattan makes no such pretensions or pompous display, but how do the two companies compare in the Massachusetts Report. Let the following figures answer:

Equitable surplus - - - - -	$1,101,155.28.
Manhattan " - - - - -	$1,254,947.48.

We are really sorry for Mr. Hyde, who used to manage the Equitable very judiciously until, in an evil hour, he took up with such company as the Winstons, Battersons, Whites, etc. His recent plans have evidently not had the desired effect. One of these consists in having "editorial" articles in some of the "religious weeklies" very nearly, if not quite, every week. These articles are headed "Life Insurance," but, like the refrain of a song, all end with some one or other of the great peculiar features of "the Equitable Assurance," or the "profound sagacity," and various other wonderful accomplishments of its manager! We are certainly not in the habit of reading the sort of "religious" papers that do this sort of work. But we give an instance, as is our wont. A friend, speaking to us, not many days ago, about the various organs of the Equitable, asked us are we in the habit of reading the Independent. "Very rarely, indeed—never, except as a 'religious curiosity,'" was the reply. Well, let you examine the Independent, and, if you find one number of it issued since January last without an "editorial," which begins with the great blessings of life insurance, and ends with the information that the only way to realize those blessings to their full extent is to secure a policy from the Equitable Assurance Society !—never take my word again. We confess we have not thought it worth while to make the examination suggested. We would fain hope, for Mr. Hyde's sake, that our friend must have been mistaken. Surely, about two score of insurance organs, all of which ferociously vie with each other in eulogizing himself, and the Equitable Assurance, ought to be enough for any one stomach which is not in a condition so decidedly morbid that the family physician should be called in at once.

The Phœnix Life, of Hartford, was never in a more prosperous condition than it is now. We do not mean that it issues so large a number of policies as it used when the times were more favorable than they are at present—that is, when money was abundant, and the prestige of life insurance had not yet suffered from the operations of the charlatans. This would be something miraculous, and miracles are things that do not often occur at the present day; nor do the managers of the Phœnix ever pretend to such, if, indeed, they believe in any other miracles than the results of energetic, intelligent effort and perseverance. Be this as it may, the Company has issued one hundred policies a month on an average during the summer months, which shows what a strong hold on public confidence they continue to retain. That this confidence is well founded there are various proofs, some of which we have taken great pleasure in presenting from time to time. It will be sufficient now to refer to such official statistics as we happen to have at hand. Turning to an abstract of the report of the Massachusetts commissioner, recently issued, for the year ending December, 1873, we find some figures which speak for themselves. Thus, for instance, under the heading, "New Policies in 1873," we find the figures 9,722, and in the next column, under the head of "Amount"—that is, the amount insured by those new policies—we find $19,105,495. Passing over a few columns we find, under the head of "Total Assets," $8,949,132.84; and under the head of "Surplus as regards policy-holders," $116,429.81. If to these items the Company's income for the same year be added—that is, $3,521,240.57—we think it will be easy to understand that the public has a solid basis for its confidence. Yet neither the president nor the secretary of the Phœnix put on any pompous airs, but are as courteous, work as hard, as late and as early, as ever.

But, in order to understand the above figures of the Phœnix, it is necessary for the uninitiated to compare them with other figures. Doubtless, some of our readers thought us very uncharitable when we made the following observation in our March number (1874):

> "We are told that 'large oaks from little acorns spring,' but, if ever an oak, large or small, *dwindled back to the acorn state, such a phenomenon may be witnessed in Hartford before many years*, under the wise auspices of Mr. S. H. White. Like many others of about the same calibre, Mr. White used to do very well while he was secretary, his most important duties then consisting in writing puffs of the Charter Oak, in questionable English, for the country newspapers. But, promoted to the rank and pay of vice-president, as a reward for his skill in that sort of thing, and allowed to take Mr. Walkley's place in the management of the company, he is determined to make his mark, and he has already succeeded in making several—such as that noted above."

What is alluded to in the closing remark is a suit against the company, which seemed to us rather an ugly affair for the "Charter Oak," and both judge and jury appeared to have taken the same view of it.* We had not then before us the official figures, indicating the precise condition of the company, although we knew it could not be very good. Now we have the figures in the report of the Massachusetts commissioner, and what do they tell us? Let them be interrogated: "Surplus as regards policy-holders, $23,342.56." This, be it observed, is according to the company's own showing. Now, supposing that three persons, each insured for $10,000, should die while the "surplus" of the company is at this low ebb, would the "fine marble palace" save it? Why, even the "*Globe* Mutual," the poor Brooklyn Life, and the still poorer Homœpathic Mutual have each a larger "surplus" than the "Charter *Oak*."

The Knickerbocker Life makes a good figure in the Massachusetts report. Mr. Nichols is fully verifying our prediction. He has already infused new vitality into the company. As its agent, he was confessedly without a rival in persuading intelligent men and women to insure their lives in the Knickerbocker; as its president, he bids fair to prove still more eloquent and successful in his peculiar mode of argument. We see he has just returned from a tour in New England, where he has been imparting his own energetic, progressive spirit to his agents. We learn also that he has engaged the services of Mr. John F. Collins (late secretary of the Republic Life of Chicago), and appointed him manager of agencies. Apart from being thoroughly versed in life insurance, Mr. Collins possesses the culture of a gentleman; and he is already at work, fully determined to succeed. In the language of one who knows the Knickerbocker well, and is by no means prone to exaggeration, "the company is getting along quietly, and vigorously working *upward* in *quality*." Although the periods of figures opposite to its name in the report before us bespeak abundant strength and duration, we do not hesitate to say from the best "internal evidence" that one year hence—when the plan of Mr. Nichols has had time to develop itself—we shall have still more satisfactory "periods."

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* (*Vide* N. Q. R., No. LVI., pp. 402-3.)

Some time ago the Security Life used to be compared to the Knickerbocker Life. This was when the former was much more judiciously managed than it is now; then the comparison was not unfavorable to it. How the case stands now, taking the Massachusetts report as a criterion, is as follows:

Security's surplus as regards policy holders, - -	$197,729.87
Knickerbocker's " " " " -	394,496.47

The puffers inform us that the Brooklyn Life—Bouck's company—is a great affair—"solid," "progressive," etc. The Massachusetts commissioner, however, tells a very different story. The United States Life seeks no eulogies; its manager has much more faith in silent, persistent work, and allowing the results to speak for themselves. Then, comparing the eulogised company, and the non-eulogised with each other, we find the following in the official report:

Brooklyn Life surplus, etc., - - - -	$47,067.09
United States " " - - - - -	567,073.42

That is, the United States has a larger surplus than eleven companies like the Brooklyn; a larger surplus than *twenty-two* companies like the Charter Oak under White auspices.

The Insurance Times, for September, has two columns—a full page—of a eulogy on the Metropolitan Life. The moment we saw this we thought something was wrong, especially when we read the following: "These statements will clearly show why the growth of this company's popularity is unparalleled." In order to learn what the difficulty is, or why such "statements" are deemed necessary just now, we turn to the Massachusetts report, and find that the "surplus" of the Metropolitan Life on its own showing is $125,918.99—a sum which, need we say, would be exhausted by three or four claims by death of ordinary amount. We turn from this "unparalleled" company to the New York Continental, whose surplus we find in the same report to be $320,658.96, nearly three times as much as that of the Metropolitan!

The president of the Provident Life and Trust, of Philadelphia, has a turn for investigation and research; and like others of his class he has much more sympathy than hatred for critics. He is now traveling in Europe, his chief object being to examine into the different plans of the chief life companies of England, France, and Germany, with the view of adopting in his own company whatever may seem an improvement or advantage. In the mean time he is well represented at home, and we are assured, on good authority, that, "notwithstanding the great depression in business for several months of the year, there is good reason to believe that it will have done quite as well in 1874 as it did in 1873." Last year its mortality was remarkably light, and thus far, at least, it has been equally favorable this year. This is ascribed to the high standard of medical examination, and we think very justly.

It were well for several other Philadelphia companies to emulate the example of the Provident Life and Trust in this as well as in other respects. We suppose they cannot help not being so intelligent or energetic, but they only require common sense and honesty to imitate it in the matter of economy and prudence, still keeping clear of their present characteristic "penny wise and pound foolish policy."

The American Life, of Philadelphia, is another company which contributes in no slight degree to vindicate the underwriters of the Quaker City from the charges often preferred of not being able to enter into the true spirit of life insurance. It is also one of the few which the late "panic" has failed to weaken or discourage. The company has a good head. Mr. Hill is said to have a knack of bringing in new applicants, which some of his brethern—those of the "Penn Mutual," for instance—would do well to imitate, and their doing so would profit widows and orphans.

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